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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1918

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EFFORTS TO DIVIDE SOVIET BLOC COUNTRIES DESCRIBED

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 24, 18 Jun 81 p 11

[Article by Ivan Hlivka: "Subversive Actions as National Policy. Antisocialist Strategy and Tactics of Imperialism."]

[Text] Characterizing the situation with international relations at the 16th CPCZ Congress, the Central Committee Secretary General, Gustav Husak emphasized that "international imperialism is trying to weaken the unity of the socialist community and endeavoring to break loose particular countries from the bonds of the socialist family through the policy of differentiation and through interfering with the affairs of individual nations, as we have witnessed in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and now again in the People's Republic of Poland." He noted that "today reactionary forces have raised these subversive actions to the level of official state policy."

These words generalize the experience from both the past and the present. Everyday, everywhere, various international situations demonstrate that the world imperialist reaction, led by the ruling elite of the United States, is intensifying its attacks against the countries of the socialist community.

The question arises as to what are the causes. There are a number of them but the most important cause is the fact that the imperialist circles are becoming more scared by the apparition of the total bankruptcy of the capitalist system, which is becoming more obviously entangled in insoluble problems. With ever increasing fears concerning the fate of their world of exploitation, they watch the gradually growing class and political awareness of the people in their countries as well as the realities, which are reflected in the class clashes of the working people, which are more and more frequently directed against the policy of the capitalist system of state monopoly in both the internal and foreign policy areas. These circles are increasingly aware that these processes, so dangerous to them, are closely connected to the revolutionizing effects of the socialist model on masses of people.

"There is no country or group of countries, no ideological or political movement," remarked L. I. Breznev at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, "that does not feel the influence of socialism to some extent. This is the reality of the 20th century."

This reality cannot be denied even by anticommunist ideologues. One of them, W. S. Schlamm from the FRG, confessed openly that "the inner meaning of the conflicts between communism and the West staggers the imagination in such a way that no one dares discuss it openly." According to him, this inner meaning of the conflicts

rests in the fact that "communism flourishes under peaceful conditions," and "triumphs" and "the West, on the contrary, if it does not want to perish, must wage resolute (ideological) war."

Other bourgeois ideologues write openly that "control over the people has loosened" in Western countries, that "a political movement of masses arises, which differs ideologically from the state and refuses to submit to it," and "thus a very serious crisis arises, which must be overcome at any price." They write that "to make it possible to continue with the vigorous and aggressive orientation of capitalist development, governments must make the people in their countries in some way return to previous conditions of passivity and obedience," etc. Such warnings and suggestions abound in the West and they are all a testimony of the deepening crisis of the capitalist system.

The purpose of the entire huge modern mechanism of the bourgeois world is to dull and retard the growth of the revolutionary awareness of the masses, to keep the working class in the captivity of ignorance and anticommunist obscurantism by a no-holds-barred slander of socialism, by distortion of the essence and meaning of the socialist internal and foreign policy and, what is even more loathsome, by inculcating ideological diversion in socialist countries.

"The reactionary forces," U.S. Secretary General Gus Hall, emphasized recently, "have a long-term strategy of destabilization of the socialist world, diverting individual socialist countries from their socialist path and removing them from the socialist community." Imperialism hopes for internal disruption brought about by external help.

Testimony of the fact that reactionary forces have raised subversive actions against socialist to the level of official state policy is the participation in these activities of even the highest representatives of the West, led by the American President, international organizations led by NATO, departments of war and commerce, espionage centers as well as state-financed scientific institutions. Radio stations have a special role in antisocialist diversion, among them principally Radio Free Europe and Voice of America, as well as others, which continuously spread their broadcasting into socialist countries; they are supposed to create internal opposition in every socialist country, to undermine the unity of society, party and people and to fan nationalist and anti-Soviet tendencies.

Within these strategies and tactics, modern imperialism supports various theories about national and regional variants of Marxism, about the "pluralism of Marxism" and various "models" of socialism. They support simply everything that could disturb the conviction about the unity of national interests within the world socialist community and communist movement. The first strategic task is to convince the public about the disparity of interests between individual socialist countries and the Soviet Union.

The "policy of differentiation," which was pointed out by comrade Gustav Husak, has been elaborately prepared in NATO headquarters mainly on the initiative of the United States. One of its variants, which preceded this type of policy, was President Johnson's so-called "policy of bridges." The present policy, however, is much more elaborate. Its theoretical basis rests on the "scientific" construction about a number of "models" of socialism. According to one of the variants, as George Sakwa,

professor at Bristol University, Great Britain, tries to persuade us in his book SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, four "models" exist. The first is just being implemented in Yugoslavia, the second (defined as "moderate reformers") includes Poland and Hungary, the third is constituted by "conservative satellites"--Bulgaria, GDR and CSSR; the fourth is represented by "the independent supporters of the hard line"--Albania and Romania.

Apart from this, the imperialist reaction and its propaganda spreads a fabrication of allegations that democratic principles are being ignored in the mutual relations among socialist countries. The principles of socialist internationalism are said to be only a tool to enforce "Soviet hegemony" in the socialist community, which is contradictory to democratic, equal relations among the nations and makes them impossible.

The allegation about inequality and nondemocracy of the relations among fraternal socialist countries is absurd. As pointed out at the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, life and experience from the cooperation among these countries have proved that socialism "has founded new morality, new principles of the relations among peoples and nations, new principles of equality, mutual respect, assistance and comradely cooperation. The fraternal socialist countries cement their indestructible bonds, develop wide cooperation and accelerate the economic and social development for each individual country and society as a whole.

These principles not only cover but far exceed the most important general democratic norms of international law. They not only declare but ensure international conditions for the existence, multisided development and cooperation of socialist states. This is an enormous and hitherto unseen achievement, when we realize the character of the relations among these countries in the presocialist formations in the past. It is well-known that the nations of the countries that now build socialism together, waged wars among themselves in the past, that the borders between them were often changed and cut off, that the citizens were brought up in the spirit of nationalism and chauvinism.

International imperialism wants to take advantage of this past. In the present period of vigorous and dynamic development of the socialist community, the imperialist strategists have begun to place their hopes on stirred nationalism. Nationalism is supported in order to disintegrate the unity and power of the community as well as individual countries; it is supposed to lure some of them into the bosom of the "free" West.

Endeavoring to attain their goals, the imperialist elites concentrate on destabilization of the socialist community through "rewarding" and "punishing" individual socialist countries--according to their distance from or nearness to the Soviet Union or whether they reinforce or weaken the uniformity of the foreign policy of the socialist community.

The development of the crisis in Poland is clear evidence of the "policy of differentiation" in practice. The imperialist centers of subversion try to make ill use of the influence of the church and of the level of religiosity of the population against world socialism, they use every form of nationalism, various degrees of dependency on the Western capitalist market, a different approach toward deepening cooperation and integration in CEMA, and the like. Everything is misused, every-

thing that is stigmatized by the errors of the party and state leadership in any country. Of course, these errors and shortcomings are enlarged out of proportion and misinterpreted according to their biases, in the spirit of anticommunism.

The policy of imperialism is based on the assumption that the countries of the socialist community, with regard to certain weak points in the leadership of some countries, are not able to prevent the differentiating effects from the West; that some countries of the community will welcome this policy, even though they may keep their obligations toward the community; that the internal difficulties will grow gradually in the community countries as a result of the deterioration in the relations caused by the imperialist nations; and that it will be possible then to lure some of them into closer economic relations with the West by providing certain "advantages" for them. They hope that at the same time it will be possible to combine the pressure on the socialist community with the attacks of the present Chinese leadership, and thus the policy if differentiation will create the elements of suspicion and distrust among the socialist states and will weaken their unity and solidarity in their course of action against the policy of world imperialism, in their struggle for peace and social progress.

That the countries designated as "conservative" by the imperialist strategy are the targets of continuous attacks of imperialist and reactionary forces demonstrates that the scheme of "models" is actually followed. With a flood demonstrates that the scheme of "models" is actually followed. With a flood of untiringly repeated lies, they try to create the atmosphere of distrust toward the present leadership of CPSU, CPCZ, SED, BCP and other parties and countries. Everyday without fail, further slanders about the communist leadership appear in the pages of the Western newspapers; everyday some insidious aggressiveness is ascribed to them.

Almost all well-developed capitalist countries show the attitude of refusal or restraint toward the development of political relations with Czechoslovakia, although they differ in their indications of some possible future cooperation.

Experience also shows the important place and role of economic relations in the policy of differentiation. Individual countries of the socialist community are granted various conditions for credits and interest rates with the intention of making them dependent on the West, stimulating their interest in so-called open relations with the West, in some autonomous attitude in the mutual relations. In this respect, even EEC and financial institutions are active.

The differentiated attitude of the West toward socialist countries is apparent in every other area--in ideology, culture, etc.

One of the important parts of the antisocialist strategy of the West is the church, which has recently become politically active. The Vatican urges the Roman Catholic Church to increase its activity, to form a political opposition in socialist countries, to support nationalist and antisoviet elements and to build a network of dissidents. It is trying to win mainly the youth and the intelligentsia, whom they want to "save" from the influence of the ideas of scientific communism and to isolate from active participation in the building of the socialist society under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties. The antisocialist ideological political orientation of the Pope and Catholic clergy has been evident in Poland. In one of his speeches, the Pope declared that for humanity the hope lies in the United States and not in socialism.

Attacks against socialism, strict differentiation in applying its policy with respect to the specific characteristics of the development in individual fraternal countries, the effort to set socialist countries against each other and, if possible, to endeavor to disrupt them by spreading and stimulating nationalism and antisovietism--these tendencies can be clearly perceived in the entire policy of the Vatican.

At the 16th Congress, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia declared that it was necessary to reinforce the resistance against anticommunist campaigns of imperialism and its attempts to destabilize the countries of "real socialism." It concluded that "the efforts of the imperialist centers to misuse the problems of nationality and the differences between nations to separate socialist countries must stimulate us to pay extraordinary attention to the struggle against all forms of nationalism and anti-Sovietism."

Consistent fulfillment of this task will become a great revolutionary contribution of our party to enhance peace and socialism in the world.

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CSO: 2400/238

BRIEFS

RECREATION FOR FOREIGN UNIONISTS--Over 2,700 trade union members are currently staying at 10 recreational facilities maintained by the ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) in the spa of Marianske Lazne. More than 500 of these trade unionists came from Belgium, Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary, Austria, Greece, the USSR, Australia, Syria, Vietnam and other countries. [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 27 Sep 81 p 4]

UNIONISTS INVITED TO LIBYA--A delegation led by URO (Central Council of Trade Unions) Secretary L. Jasik left for Tripoli on 26 August. The delegates, invited by Libya's trade unions, will attend the International Conference on Solidarity with People of Libya and events commemorating the 12th anniversary of the Libyan revolution. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 27 Aug 81 p 4]

CSO: 2400/307

SCHOLARSHIPS INCREASED FOR STUDENTS, APPRENTICES

Explanation of Changes

East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German 18 Jun 81 p 5

[Response by Elke Schilling to question from Klaus Sell of Rostock: "In the Report to the 11th FDJ Parliament the proposal was made to draw up a new scholarship law. Has this been done and what does it contain?" Translations of the new laws on scholarship follow this article]

[Text] Among our experiences as students is always to presume that FDJ proposals always get answered because our state always was a state of youth and will always be one. The word and deed and force that bears this state, the SED, stands behind it. That is the way it was put by Marion Landsberger, student at the Karl Marx University of Leipzig, at the 11th FDJ Parliament. Her opinion, proposed in the status report, also was to draw up a new scholarship law which would, among other things, grant all students a basic scholarship and provide for increased scholarships for recognized achievements. Marion and all of student youth in our country can now add another experience. GESETZBLATT Part I No 17, 11 June 1981, just published, shows that a new scholarship decree goes into effect on 1 September this year. It serves to further improve the students' living conditions and stimulate high achievements during studies and in social work. And the FDJ again shares in its responsibility on behalf of all youth.

What arrangements then are going to be made? All fulltime students at a university, college, engineering or technical school in the GDR get a basic M 200 scholarship per month. An additional M 100 stipend monthly goes to students who have an extended-term active military service behind them as enlisted men, NCO's or officers (cf. also Promotional Decree, GBL, Part I, No 13, 13 February 1975). For students who worked for at least 3 years as specialists prior to their studies the monthly subsidy comes to M 80. For students with the parental right to educate a child or several children the scholarship goes up by M 50 per child per month. Good and excellent school grades, great study discipline and active social work are rewarded by performance subsidies. They normally come, starting with the second school year, in monthly sums of M 150, M 100 or M 60. Students with outstanding achievements and high social activity can get a special scholarship, as in the past. The law also provides increases for them. The Karl Marx Scholarship is M 550 per month, the Wilhelm Pieck Scholarship M 500, and the Johannes R. Becher Scholarship M 450.

Further provisions can be looked up in the GESETZBLATT which is available in the study facilities.

Decree on University Scholarships

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 17, 11 Jun 81 pp 229-231

[Official text of "Decree of 11 June 1981 on the Granting of Scholarships to Full-time Students at Universities, Colleges and Technical Schools of the German Democratic Republic -- Scholarship Decree," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, and Prof. Boehme, minister for university and technical school affairs, East Berlin]

[Text] The socialist state ensures all-round education and training for youth and systematically creates the conditions necessary for it. Studying at a university, college or technical school amounts to a high social recognition and demands a personal commitment from each student to socialist society, to acquiring high technical knowledge and skills and applying them, and to developing basic socialist convictions and attitudes.

For further improving the students' living conditions and stimulating high achievements in study and social activity, the following is decreed in concurrence with the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee:

Article 1 -- Range of Validity

This decree applies to

a) GDR citizens,

b) citizens of other states or stateless who have their permanent residence in the GDR or enjoy asylum in the GDR, while they are in the GDR, and

c) citizens of other states or stateless whose parents or spouses have long-range work contracts with enterprises, official organizations or institutions of the GDR, while they are in the GDR,

provided they are fulltime students at a GDR university or college (henceforth referred to as college), engineering or technical school (henceforth referred to as technical school), and

d) GDR citizens studying in other states.

Article 2 -- Principles for the Granting of Scholarships

(1) All college and technical school students receive a basic scholarship for the duration of their studies.

(2) Students who have proven themselves before their studies in the armed organs of the GDR or several years of occupational work, students who have children, and students who, because of their social circumstances, need special assistance, get an increased basic scholarship.

(3) Students distinguishing themselves by exemplary performance in their studies and social activity receive a performance scholarship above and beyond their basic scholarship.

(4) Students with outstanding achievements in their studies and high social activity may be granted a special scholarship.

Article 3 -- Basic Scholarship

(1) The basic scholarship amounts to M 200 per month.

(2) The basic scholarship as per section 1 goes up for

a) students who have an extended-term active military service behind them as enlisted men, NCO's or officers after presenting the evidence mentioned as conditions for it in the Promotional Decree[1] by M 100 per month;

b) students who have obligated themselves to enlist in active military service, after their studies, as extended-term officers, career NCO's, warrant officers or career officers, once their obligation has been confirmed, by M 100 per month;

c) students who, before starting their studies and after concluding their vocational training, held a specialists occupation for at least 3 years, by M 80 per month; and

d) students with the parental right to educate one child or several children, for each child by M 50 per month.

Letters a) and b) apply also to students who have performed service under comparable service conditions that correspond to an active military service obligation or have obligated themselves to enlist in such service after their studies. If premises as to letters a) to c) apply simultaneously, the highest amount is granted.

(3) For students who because of their social circumstances need special assistance, the basic scholarship as to sections 1 and 2 may be raised by M 50 per month.

(4) The basic scholarship as to sections 1 through 3 is raised for students studying at colleges and technical schools in Berlin, the GDR capital, by M 15 per month.

Article 4 -- Performance Scholarship

(1) Any student can acquire a performance scholarship above and beyond the basic scholarship. A performance scholarship is granted in recognition of the following prerequisites:

-- very good or good grades in acquiring knowledge in the technical sciences and Marxist-Leninist principles and in the practical application of that,

[1]In effect at this time is the 13 February 1975 decree on promoting former NVA members after their discharge from active military service -- Promotion Decree (GBL, Part I, No 13, p. 221).

-- high study discipline and an exemplary political-moral attitude,

-- active participation in social work for the all-round strengthening of the GDR and the protection of the socialist fatherland.

(2) The performance scholarship amounts to M 150, M 100 or M 60 per month.

(3) A performance scholarship as a rule is granted beginning with the second year of studies.

(4) Performance scholarships are awarded annually starting in September for the duration of one year of study. They may be withdrawn during the school year if the prerequisites needed for granting them no longer exist.

(5) The decision on granting performance scholarships is made, in concurrence with the FDJ executives, at colleges by the dean for education and training or the deputy director for the education, training and advanced training department, and at technical schools, by the deputy director. The proposals on granting performance scholarships are submitted by the competent FDJ executives in concurrence with the college and technical school teachers.

Article 5 -- Special Scholarship

(1) As special scholarships are granted

-- the Karl Marx Scholarship,

-- the Wilhelm Pieck Scholarship, and

-- the Johannes R. Becher Scholarship.

(2) The special scholarships award the following amounts:

-- the Karl Marx Scholarship	M 550 per month
-- the Wilhelm Pieck Scholarship	M 500 per month
-- the Johannes R. Becher Scholarship	M 450 per month

(3) Special scholarships are granted in lieu of the basic scholarship as per article 3 section 1 and the performance scholarship.

(4) For special scholarships the raised amounts are paid as per article 3 sections 2 and 4, upon the presentation of evidence.

Article 6 -- Scholarships for GDR Students in Other States

GDR citizens delegated for study in other states receive scholarships within the terms of this decree. For the months of study in a different state, a foreign exchange scholarship is granted in lieu of the basic scholarship as per article 3 section 1.

General Provisions

Artice 7

(1) Scholarship payments begin at the month of immatriculation and end with the last day in the month of exmatriculation. Higher basic scholarship rates are paid beginning with the first day in the month in which the prerequisites for them apply.

(2) In cases of medically certified work disability due to illness, work accidents or illness caused at work, quarantine, during a prophylactic health, treatment or recovery therapy, pregnancy and maternity confinement furloughs or a medically certified excuse from studies to take care of a sick child, benefits at the rates specified in this decree continue in full. For the duration of reserve military service, M 80 of the military wages are applied to the scholarship per month.

(3) If scholarship benefits were not properly granted, there will be back-pay. Unjustified scholarship benefits received may be asked to be returned. The right to claim back payments expires one year after the termination of studies.

Article 8

(1) Working spouses of fulltime students, with a medically certified excuse from work for taking care of a sick child, receive social insurance benefits at the rate of single working people.

(2) Working wives of fulltime students, when presenting the proper documentation, receive social insurance maternity benefits at the rate of single working people.

Article 9

Students or persons with the parental right to educate children, in the case of minor students, can protest decisions about scholarship matters to the executive who has made the decision. The complaint has to be settled within 4 weeks. If the complaint is not, or not fully, honored, it has to be handed over within the time period for the decision to a superior executive for examination and decision. The complainant has to be informed about it. The superior executive decides within 2 weeks. Appeals against such a decision are settled by the college or technical school director within 2 weeks definitively.

Final Provisions

Article 10

(1) Special arrangements may be made for certain study phases, forms of study or the promotion of certain groups of persons by the minister for university and technical school affairs in concurrence with the competent ministers and directors of other central state organs.

(2) For colleges and technical schools of the armed organs, the special rules issued by the competent ministers apply.

Article 11

Implementation regulations for this decree are issued by the minister for university and technical school affairs in concurrence with the competent ministers and directors of other central state organs, and with the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee.

Article 12

(1) This decree goes into effect on 1 September 1981.

(2) At the same time the following are rescinded:

1. Article 2 of the 10 May 1972 order on financial support for female students with children at colleges and technical schools (GBL, Part II No 27 p 321);

2. the 28 August 1975 order on granting scholarships to fulltime students at the universities, colleges and technical schools of the GDR -- scholarship order -- (GBL, Part I No 39 p 664);

3. the 23 February 1977 order no. 2 on granting scholarships to fulltime students at the universities, colleges and technical schools of the GDR -- scholarship order -- (GBL, Part I No 6 p 48);

4. the 6 July 1978 order no. 3 on granting scholarships to fulltime students at the universities, colleges and technical schools of the GDR -- scholarship order -- (GBL, Part I No 21 p 246);

5. Article 1 section 1, article 2 section 1 and article 3 section 1 of the 3 September 1976 decree on changes for the special scholarships -- Karl Marx, Wilhelm Pieck and Johannes R. Becher Scholarship -- (GBL, Part I No 34 p 419);

6. Article 41 section 1 letter b and article 46 section 3 letter b slash 1 of the 17 November 1977 decree on compulsory social insurance for workers and employees -- SVO -- (GBL, Part I No 35 p 3730; and

7. Article 60 section 1 letter b and article 66 section 3 letter b slash 1 of the 9 December 1977 decree on social insurance with GDR Social Insurance (GBL, Part I 1978 No 1 p 1).

Increased Payments to Apprentices

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 17, 11 Jun 81 pp 231-232

[Official text of "Decree of 11 June 1981 on Increasing Payments to Apprentices," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, East Berlin]

[Text] For the material and moral recognition of the growing performance demands placed on vocational training, and of the learning and work results of the apprentices, in concurrence with the FDGB National Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council, the following is decreed:

Article 1

This decree applies to youths in an apprenticeship situation.

Article 2

Graduate apprentices from the 10th grade of the general education polytechnical secondary school in a specified half-year of their apprenticeship receive the following rates of monthly wages:

1. Mining -- underground

Half-years of apprenticeship	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Monthly wages in Marks	150	160	180	200	220	220

2. Mining -- aboveground, metallurgy, foundries

Half-years of apprenticeship	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Monthly wages in Marks	130	145	175	190	200	200

3. All other areas and branches of the economy

Monthly wages in Marks	120	130	150	180	200	200

In enterprises of mining, metallurgy and foundries, these rates of wages are also paid to apprentices in the following occupations: typewriter specialists, businessmen, finance specialists, ADP specialists and ADP support technicians.

Article 3

Apprentices who have not graduated from 10th grade and apprentices in part-time training receive the following rates of monthly wages:

1. Mining -- underground

Half-year of apprenticeship	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Monthly wages in Marks	135	145	155	165	175	190

2. Mining -- aboveground, metallurgy, foundries

Half-years of apprenticeship	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Monthly wages in Marks	120	130	140	150	160	175

3. All other areas and branches of the economy

Monthly wages in Marks	105	115	130	140	150	150

Article 4

(1) Apprentices in need of extra subsidies because of their social conditions can be paid an extra M 50 per month.

(2) Applications for granting such subsidies are to be submitted through the enterprise with which the apprenticeship contract was made to the vocational training and counseling department of the kreis council handling that enterprise.

Article 5

Implementation regulations for this decree are issued by the state secretary for vocational training in concurrence with the FDGB National Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council, and with the competent ministers and directors of other central state organs.

Article 6

(1) This decree goes into effect on 1 September 1981.

(2) It rescinds the 31 January 1974 decree on raising wages for apprentices (GBL, Part I No 10 p 85).

(3) As of 1 September 1981, the eighth implementation regulation of 15 June 1977 for the law on the uniform socialist educational system -- maintenance support for secondary school pupils and training subsidies for apprentices -- (GBL, Part I No 21 p 273) in the version of the ninth implementation regulation of 25 June 1980 -- amendment to the eighth implementation regulation -- (GBL, Part I No 22 p 226) no longer applies to apprentices.

High School Student Grants

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 17, 11 Jun 81 p 232

[Official text of "Decree of 11 June 1981 on Education Grants for Students in the Expanded General Polytechnical High Schools and in the Specialized Schools in the Sphere of Public Education," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers and M. Honecker, minister for public education, East Berlin]

[Text] The socialist state assures youth of all-round education and training and systematically creates the conditions necessary for it. Selection for training at the expanded general polytechnical high schools and the specialized schools means a high social recognition and invests each student with a personal obligation to socialist society for acquiring high political and technical knowledge and skills.

In concurrence with the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee, the following is decreed:

Article 1

(1) For all students in the expanded general polytechnical high schools and the specialized schools in the sphere of public education, beginning in 11th grade, monthly training subsidies are granted for the duration of school attendance.

(2) The training subsidy comes in the following amounts:

-- for 11th grade students M 110 per month

-- for 12th grade students M 150 per month

Article 2

In justified exceptional cases, the training subsidies to be granted as per article 1 may be raised by M 50 per month for students who, due to their social circumstances, need extra assistance.

Article 3

Implementation regulations are issued by the minister for public education in concurrence with the heads of the competent central state organs, and with the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee.

Article 4

(1) This decree goes into effect on 1 September 1981.

(2) Starting on 1 September 1981, the eighth implementation regulation of 15 June 1977 for the law on the uniform educational system -- maintenance support for high school students and training subsidies for apprentices -- (GBL, Part I No 21 p 273) in the version of the ninth implementation regulation of 25 June 1980 -- amendment of the eighth implementation regulation -- (GBL, Part I No 22 p 226) no longer applies to students of the expanded general polytechnical high schools and of the specialized schools in the sphere of public education.

(3) Article 2 section 1 of the 4 December 1975 decree on granting state child-support money and special subsidies for large families and single citizens with three children (GBL, Part I 1976 No 4 p 52) receives the following version:

"(1) State child-support money is granted for physically or psychologically handicapped children up to the end of their attending a 10-grade general polytechnical high school or the 10th grade of a specialized school, special grade or special school."

5885
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CONFERENCE DEBATES NATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL FACTORS IN WORKERS MOVEMENT

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8,Aug 81 pp 30-35

[Article by Laszlo Kovacs, chief of Central Committee Sub-Department: "National and International Factors in Today's Revolutionary Workers Movement"]

[Text] From the moment of its inception, the revolutionary workers movement has been characterized by traits which are unique to each country and class features which are identical everywhere, and its development has always evolved in the midst of a complex interaction of national and international factors. The weight of the national and the international side in the struggle for the liberation of the working class and society as a whole, and for the elimination of exploitation, is naturally not determined once and for all, but is constantly changing in the course of historical development. In the middle of the last century, the revolutionary direction of the workers movement clearly began to take on the form of an essentially international organization, which truly reflected the fundamental community of interests among the oppressed workers of various countries. The subsequent formation of independent workers parties organized on the national level, however, signaled a recognition of the objective necessity, that while it is true that the workers of the world pursue identical goals, their struggle must be launched within their national boundaries and they must organize themselves into a national class in order to take the power out of the hands of the bourgeoise.

On the one hand, it was their community of interests and goals, on the other, it was the internationalization of capital, the global presence of the bourgeoise, which has made it essential for the various national detachments of the working class to coordinate their struggle to some extent and in some form. It was this demand which led to the creation of the 1st and 2nd Internationals and later, following the organizational split between the revolutionary and reformist factions of the workers movement, to the establishment of the 3rd or Communist International. During the initial phase of the development of these new type of vanguard parties, it was the operation of the Comintern which had to inevitably ensure that the common goals of the communist movement were precisely reflected in the specific policies of the individual parties, and that the global cause of the socialist movement was not threatened by national isolation. At the same time, the existence of an international direction and decision center also meant that during the phase of the struggle the international side, i.e. the common interest had priority over the national or individual side. Another important feature of the situation during that period was that since there was only one socialist country, it was essential for the international

working class and communitst parties everywhere to do everything in their power, and to promote its consolidation. It was this necessary requirement that was expressed in the thesis according to which the criterion for determining one's commitment to proletarian internationalism was his attitude toward the Soviet Union.

For decades now, the international communist movement has not had a center, due to the fact that the development of the movement has made it both unnecessary and impossible. Today each party must independently determine its own policy and decide what road to follow and what methods and means to use, taking into account its own country's conditions and the given international situation, to achieve its goal, the successful completion of the socialist revolution. This could not be done any other way, since there are very significant differences in the specific conditions which characterize the struggle and activities of each communist party. Some of these parties have already gotten passed the initial steps of socialist transition, namely, the establishment of the rule of the working class and the laying of the economic foundations of the new society, and there are also those who are already in the process of constructing the advanced phase of socialism. Other parties are still only at various stages of their struggle to overthrow the class rule of the bourgeoise. But even beyond the diversity of their social systems, these countries greatly differ in their level of economic development, social structure, nationality make-up and historical traditions, just to mention a few; significant differences can also be observed in their size and geographical location. All of this constitutes a diverse system of conditions, which obviously mainly the communist party of the given country can see in its full complexity.

The considerable diversity which characterizes these conditions do not change the fact that the most fundamental interests of the communist parties coincide and that they all try to attain their common long-term goal, namely, the achievement of a socialist society, on the basis of the same ideological foundation, the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. While confirming in many respects the need for different solutions, socialist revolutions which occured under various sets of specific circumstances have proven in practice that the process of transformation from capitalism to socialism has inevitably prevailing, common and objective sets of rules everywhere. The interrelationship between the general and the specific unique features of socialist construction is also an indication that this diverse form expresses a fundamentally identical content.

The selection of the road to socialism, the creative application of common rules to specific conditions places a great responsibility on every communist party. They are responsible, first of all, to their own working class and their people for selecting ways and methods which bring certain results and require the smallest possible sacrifice. This responsibility, however, cannot be narrowed down to the national level, for the international workers movement is also affected by the successes and the failures which result from the struggle and activities of individual parties. Naturally, this relationship has two sides: it is not only the success of the struggle on the national level which affects the position of the movement as a whole; the chances of these individual parties' struggle to succeed are also influenced by the development of the international communist movement's positions.

How the specific immediate tasks facing the individual parties--including in the final analysis the very task of carrying out the socialist revolution--is solved, is greatly influenced by international circumstances.

The connection has been proven not only in theory but also in practice, that today it is calm international relations and peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems which can provide the most favorable external conditions for the struggle of revolutionary forces to succeed. It is clear that such conditions can only be established by way of a joint effort by all communist parties, that is, through a united stand on part of the international communist movement. There is, therefore, an inseparable connection between effective representation of national interests and goals, and the most fundamental international interest, the preservation of world peace.

It clearly follows from the diverse positions of the various countries and from the different positions of each party, that the tasks which are directly on their agenda may also significantly differ. This, however, does not mean that there is even a single communist party which could do without the experiences learned by other parties in the course of their own struggle. In other words, the knowledge of the solutions which have been effective or perhaps unsuccessful elsewhere can save communists some unnecessary failures and sacrifices, and may even shorten and smooth their road to socialism. This is why regular consultations, finding out about and applying unique solutions for the earliest possible achievement of their common goals have given communist parties such immense power. Collective examination of newly arising problems, exchanges of opinions to enhance the search for solutions and joint analytical work are also essential--due precisely to the multiplicity, complexity and constant changing of conditions.

In May, the Central Committee of the MSZMP and the editorial board of BEKE ES SOCIALIZMUS, [Peace and Socialism], which is the collective theoretical journal of communist and workers parties, held an international theoretical conference in Balatonfoldvar, entitled "The Dialectic Relationship Between National and International in the Workers Movement." The goal of this initiative was--as that of several international party conferences held in our country during the past few years--to provide an opportunity for an intense exhange of ideas about a theoretical subject area which also holds some vitally important practical interrelationships for all communist parties, that is, for the movement as a whole. The comprehensive nature of the subject also provided an opportunity for delegates from 47 participating parties to bring up--in the two sections, dealing with the factors that influence the national and international consciousness of the working class and the problems concerning the shaping of international consciousness--virtually every possible theoretical-ideological and practical-political question, which today are subjects of debate within the international communist movement.

In addition to the parties which participate in the work of the journal, BEKE ES SOCIALIZMUS, some recently established or presently forming Marxist-Leninist parties were also invited to the conference as guests of the hosting MSZMP. For the vanguard parties which have evolved from national liberation movements, it is obviously useful to take part in international programs such as this, and it is illuminating for them to become thoroughly familiar with the views and positions of those communist parties which already have a great past behind them and thus have rich experiences to offer. Aside from these considerations, the presence of the Marxist-Leninist forces of Angola, Mozambique, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Ethiopia received special attention at the conference. The reason for this was that they represented revolutionaries of countries for whom international solidarity and international support for social liberation struggles fought within national boundaries were decisively important in the past and represent a practical matter which is no less vital today. For this very reason, their fighting experiences were also significant contributions to the work of the conference.

During the three day conference there was complete concensus, that the dual tendency of world development--revealed by Lenin,--namely, that the role of the national factor is strengthening while at the same time the world is becoming more internationalized, continues to assert itself. The national consciousness and unity-strengthening and legitimate pride boosting achievements of our work toward a socialist society-- in addition to the special interests of socialist countries which stem from their different levels of development,--the joint struggle of the working class and other social forces in the capitalist countries against international imperialism in the developing world and the intensification of the struggle for national and social liberation, all tend to point toward the growing effect of the national factor. All of this, however, is taking place in a world in which there are a growing number of ties stemming from political, economic, scientific-technological, cultural and other types of cooperation among not only those countries with similar social systems, but also those whose social systems differ and in which growing emphasis and importance is given to general and global problems affecting mankind as a whole, such as the keeping of the peace, the rational utilization of increasingly more expensive energy sources and raw materials, the establishment of well-balanced international economic relations, putting an end to the environment-destroying effects of industrial civilization and others. Also indicating a tendency toward internationalization are those integrational processes which are taking place both in the socialist and capitalist world, although with fundamental differences in content. A unique, but essential effect of internationalization is the globalization of the struggle between socialism and capitalism, and the merging of the anti-imperialist struggle by the main revolutionary forces of our times.

Among the views expressed concerning the main topic of the conference, namely, the relationship between international and national factors, some dissenting views could also be heard. Representatives of parties from some of the developing countries stressed the absolute priority of international over national interests, some other views expressed on certain specific questions, on the other hand, seemed to overemphasize the role of the national factor. The decisive majority of the participants, however, took the position that today the national and international aspects of the revolutionary workers movement are inseparably connected and mutually influence and complement one another. Specific examples were cited to prove that the revolutionary struggle of communist parties within national boundaries, the achievement and consolidation of national independence, the breaking of the rule of the exploiting classes and the successful construction of a socialist society always have international implications as well, for they serve the interests of the international working class and the common goals of socialism. This, however, does not mean that the momentary pursuits of these parties in specific situations always automatically coincide with the international interests of the movement as a whole.

Today the coordination of national and international interests is done among independent and equal parties without the help of a common organizational and decision-making center. In the course of the debate there were also a few remarks which in an overly appreciative manner assigned the leading role within the communist movement to the CPSU, and in general to the parties of the socialist countries. The majority of the participants, however, accepted the draft presented by the socialist countries' representatives, according to which the broader range of opportunities available to the ruling working classes only increases their responsibility in promoting the process of world revolution, and does not change the fact that the parties, or in the broader sense, the three major revolutionary forces, are equal.

Several of the participants also talked about the changes which may result from the lack of harmony between national and international interests, or from viewing one or the other side as the absolute factor. Thus they pointed out that a one-sided treatment of national considerations without taking into account their international connections will eventually lead to isolation and nationalism, and will also endanger the achievements of the national struggle. At the same time, they also stressed that those goals which are defined by giving absolute status to some abstract and general international considerations will inevitably remain detached from the existing national reality, and therefore are not suited for mobilizing and revolutionizing the masses, and in extreme cases they may even cause serious distortions.

The participants of the conference agreed that the national and international consciousness of the working class is shaped and formed by several various factors. Thus, they are affected by the given country's social and economic conditions, its historical traditions, as well as by the prevailing conditions of the international situation, the behavior of the main forces of international politics, including primarily the weight and activities of the international communist approach was presented, which pointed out that during the initial phase of its movement the working class at first simply recognizes its class interests, develops its class consciousness, and it is only later that it also begins to call for national liberation. In contrast, the bourgeoise, while at the beginning of capitalist development still representing the national interest, gradually turns away from it and becomes increasingly an advocate of international monopol-capitalist interests.

Virtually every speaker took some time on their own to give a detailed look at the problem of nationalism. There were several delegates representing the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries, who stressed that while it is true that together with the new socio-economic conditions the objective possibilities of coordinating international and national interests are also established, differences of interests stemming from diverse economic potentials, but especially subjective reasons and external effects, may help sustain and from time to time even regenerate and strengthen nationalism. Delegates from the communist parties of capitalist countries suggested that the internationalization of capital not only helps to strengthen internationalism among the workers, but--especially under the conditions of the existing crisis and the intensifying competition struggle connected with it, and also as a result of the negative consequences resulting from the supranational character of capitalist integration--it also reinforces feelings of nationalism based on a sense of threatened national existence. This, however, makes it more difficult for the workers of different countries to take a collective stand against the international monopoly capital and causes damaging tensions in the relations between the individual countries' own working masses and the guest workers who are there to work. Obviously, there are some additional unique features of nationalism which pertain to the developing world, where--as several delegates who came from there stressed--a distinction must be made between revolutionary nationalism which plays a positive role, and those racist distortions which cause divisions among liberation movements and thus serve the interests of imperialism.

At the conference, some of the most heated debates were centered around the relationship between national self-determination and international solidarity which is a unique and today especially timely, specific question concerning the connection between national and international factors. All participants agreed, that it is

the duty of those parties whose revolutions in their respective countries have already triumphed, to support the revolutionary forces of other countries. No participant contested the fact, that today's revolutionary changes, which are observed primarily in the developing countries, have objective and internal social motives which are not incited from the outside by the socialist countries or the revolutionaries of other countries. The imperialists, on the other hand, are doing everything in their power to bring these processes to a stop, just as they have tried to weaken and undermine the social order of those socialist countries which have come into being as a result of previous successful revolutions. The question which did bring out some differences of opinion had to do with the various possible forms and means of international assistance. There were some parties which questioned whether the extent of the danger of counterrevolution in the case of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Angola and Ethiopia in the mid-1979's and Afghanistan in December 1979, really justified the use of the military form of assistance, and there was even an opinion which held that such assistance is contrary to the principle of national self-determination. Those present from the countries in question, as well as the representatives of several other parties pointed out, however, that it is imperialist interventionism, and not the socialist countries' assistance which violates national self-determination, for it aims to destroy the accomplishments which have been achieved in the course of national and social liberation. These specific examples only prove that without the many-sided support of the socialist countries, the chances of the above mentioned countries' peoples to advance along a road of social development which they themselves have chosen, would have been jeopardized. Several people also pointed out that the concept of national self-determination is not just some kind of abstract, absolute or merely international category of law, but it also has a historical definition and a specific class content.

Behind the debates concerning the relationship between internationalist solidarity and national self-determination, there are essentially two very complex and theoretically not even fully explored problem areas with international implications which have come to the forefront during the past few years and decades: The question of periodically recurring crises in the socialist countries and the contradiction between the relaxation of tensions and specific revolutionary processes. Both express a complex, dialectic interrelationship between national and international factors.

The question of periodically recurring crises was analyzed--in addition to other speakers--by the representatives of the MSZMP. In the inaugural address, in the opening speech of the first segment and in other Hungarian presentations references were made to the subjective mistakes committed along our own historical path--namely, the overemphasis on the common laws of socialist construction and the subsequent deemphasis of the national factor, which was followed by giving the national side absolute priority--which made it easier for our domestic and external class enemies to launch an open counterrevolutionary attack against the people's power in October, 1956. The fundamental lesson of the period of consolidation that has followed the suppression of the counterrevolution was that only by waging a consistent two-front attack against subjective mistakes and distortions, and by taking greater notice of national peculiarities in asserting the common laws of socialist construction --or as it was put in the inaugural address: by showing simultaneous loyalty "to our nation's red-white-and green flag and to the red banner of the international workers movement"--can we provide the most important guarantees to ensure ourselves the kind of socialist development which while not entirely contradiction-free, is immune to more serious crises.

The contradiction between the process of relaxation and the revolutions which are presently taking place in the developing world, stems from the fact that the clash between imperialist intervention aimed at crushing those revolutions and the international assistance aimed at thwarting those attempts and ensuring their protection, causes inevitable tensions in the relations of socialist and capitalist countries, that is to say, it temporarily slows down the relaxation process. During the debates of the conference two viewpoints emerged in connection with this. One of these was that under the present circumstances it would be senseless and contrary to its own basic goals, to have a revolution that would lead to a world-war type conflict, and bring about the destruction of the entire human civilization. Looking at it from the other side, however: the imperialist circles are also unable to afford the risk of a thermonuclear world war, by trying to forcefully turn back the process of social development in a given country.

The organizers of the Balatonfoldvar conference did not intend, from the outset, to put coinciding views on record in the form of a joint document, or to come up with any legally binding resolutions. As in the case of the above mentioned earlier conferences, the goal was once again to use this informal exchange of opinions about an extremely important and timely subject area to help us clarify some views and familiarize ourselves with each other's experiences. Everyone agreed, that each participant party should decide for itself how it will use the things which had been discussed at the conference.

The tone of the debates, the honest and open way in which problems were raised, and the cordial and comradely atmosphere which prevailed from beginning to end even in the midst of some occasionally impassioned arguments proved once again: the communist movement desparately needs forums such as this, so that its parties can provide constructive, Marxist-Leninist answers to the complex problems or our changing world.

9379
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CAREER PROBLEMS OF YOUNG INTELLECTUALS NOTED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8, Aug 81 pp 36-40

[Article by Janos Barabas, secretary of State Youth Committee: "Problems of Starting an Intellectual Careet"]

[Text] As we attempt to outline the characteristic problems of young intellectuals, we cannot avoid making a few comments concerning the intelligentsia as a whole. The great social movements which began following the liberation had a great effect on the composition of the intelligentsia. This development radically changed the outlook of this stratum and it contributed to the evolution of a socialist intelligentsia. Since the beginning of the second half of the 1960's--as the findings of studies and research indicate--this earlier rapid and large-scale restratification process has slowed down and the roads of mobility have changed.

One of the important questions regarding the direction of social development is how the recruitment of the intelligentsia according to social origin will develop. Studies show that while nearly half of the children of white-collar worker parents will become intellectuals, only 8 percent of the children of skilled worker parents, 3.5 percent of those whose parents perform physical agricultural work and 2 percent of those coming from unskilled laborer parents will end up to be the same. These data are an indication that the stratum is becoming increasingly closed and that the influx of people from the blue-collar classes and strata is gradually slowing down. Interesting observations have been made by researchers, who have found that starting from the 1930's this phenomenon, namely, that nearly one half of the children from white-collar worker families are also becoming intellectuals themselves, could be observed not only in our country, but also in the industrially most advanced countries of the world. As it is indicated by the statistics of the Hungarian development: the number of people who can become intellectuals from the other social strata or classes is determined primarily by the extent to which this stratum can increase. This fact is a further indication that the administrative regulation of advantages and disadvantages according to origin cannot be considered an effective method. The compositional transformation of the Hungarian intelligentsia has been brought about primarily by a growth in its total size.

The intelligentsia has clearly definable stratum-characteristics, but it is by no means a homogenous stratum. Significant differences can be revealed among various intellectual groups regarding their position in the social division of labor and according to the occupational structure. Differentiations within the strata may be

caused by differences in the level of training and in the prestige of the profession: a person who has completed university is in a more advantageous position than someone with a college degree; doctors are a step above teachers, etc. Empirical studies have also brought into light the fact, that within the hierarchy of white-collar careers the attraction toward professions of greater prestige is closely connected with social origin. For example, the medical community is more closed than any other intellectual microstratum. The percentage of children from blue-collar families is the lowest among medical students. We should note here, that the above mentioned differences can also be observed among all the various groups of young intellectuals; their effect can be especially intensly felt at the beginning of periods of work-place and social adjustment. And by pointing out that there are significant differences between young and older intellectuals, we have arrived at the essence of our topic. Despite the diminishing socio-cultural level-differences between villages and cities, a certain degree of isolation can be observed between the intellectual groups of the two types of settlements. There are some very significant differences between intellectuals in management and non-management positions. Also significant are the existing income differences. A so-called, "elite-intelligentsia" has evolved which includes segments of the creative, scientific and artistic intelligentsia.

Within the intelligentsia whose under 30 occupy a unique position, with a percentage of over 25 percent. Young intellectuals have several characteristics in which they differ from the other age groups of the intelligentsia, as well as from other strata of our youth. The most striking indication of our young intellectuals' unique position is that the time of their entrance into the social division of labor, and the beginning period of their career usually coincide with their desire to set up a household and start a family.

Those young people who select an intellectual career have to spend a significantly longer time in school, which also postpones the beginning of their career. (Under optimum circumstances, they spend a minimum of 2, and a maximum of 6 years in higher education.)

The university or college student enrolled during the day has no personal income, therefore, his living expenses are covered primarily through parental, family support and by grants and scholarships, which they supplement with income earned from occasional odd jobs. In view of these circumstances, and for all practical purposes, day-time students must be considered dependents. There is a kind of unique "status-inconsistency" which characterizes the situation of a university student: he spends several of his physically and emotionally mature, adult years without a properly awakened sense of social duty and responsibility.

After finishing university or college, upon completing his studies, the young person begins to wait for the opportunity to prove his abilities and preparedness. The beginning of his adult life and career, however, runs into quite a few difficulties:

1. The first great problem which a young intellectual encounters is finding a job and selecting a suitable place of employment. The way the large majority of these young graduates who are at the start of their careers go about finding a job is through competition. There are significant differences with respect to the availability of work in the various professions and fields. For most young technicians and economists finding a job is relatively less problemful. At the same time, these are the fields where the "discrepency" between academic training and the activities themselves is the greatest. The problem of finding suitable positions

for liberal arts and natural science graduates, whose major is something other than education, still has not been solved. Another area of concern is how to provide suitable positions for starting teachers which are in accordance with their level of training and their field of expertise. Finding a job is made even more difficult by the inflexibility and overspecialization of the university and college system, which even in principle is only suited to satisfy those professional manpower-needs which arise in today's structure of the division of labor, and is unable to take into consideration our changing short,-extended and long-term demands.

Changes in the economy, the transformation of our economic structure can be expected to cause further problems in the employment of young people. Despite our tension-causing difficulties to place people, which cannot be overlooked, we must make it clear that it would be a mistake to try to resolve these tensions by cutting back enrollment in higher education. In Hungary, 34 to 35 percent of our high-school graduates go on to higher educational institutions. This ratio, that is the number of students has not changed during the past few years. Compared with international statistics this student number is strikingly low. Only 9.2 percent of the 18 to 25 year-old age group receive higher education as day-time students.

2. The source of tension is discrepancy between the academic qualifications of career starting graduates and the requirements of the job they are about to fill. Right from the start, at least one-fourth of them begin to work in jobs which do not require an advanced degree.

This is evidenced by the fact that in the nearly 150 fields which require engineering training only 58 thousand hold advanced degrees, while at the same time 38 thousand technical specialists with university or college degrees are employed in non-engineering fields.

Various surveys have found that many young people are dissatisfied with their field work; they look upon their jobs as something which could be performed by somebody with less qualifications. According to some studies the majority of young intellectuals do not feel that their jobs have enough substance or that they encourage creativity. In their opinion they spend half of their working time doing jobs which do not require a degree.

Waiting for suitable work, performing tasks which have no relevance to their training has a retarding effect on the professional development of young people, leads to insecurity and bitterness and impels them to change their place of employment.

3. The process of adjustment to the job often entails conflicts. Many problems result from requirement differences and contradictions between university and college training, that is, education, and on-the-job training. The young person, though overspecialized, possesses a relatively high level of professional knowledge, while at the same time his practical experience is inadequate. Higher education does not place proper emphasis in all areas on mastering the skills connected with the practical application of theoretical knowledge. We must also admit, however, that there is not, and there can never be complete between university or college preparation and practical work.

4. Only 5 percent of our young intellectuals hold some type of, usually low-level, managerial positions. Among white-collar management the ratio of those under 30 is 12 percent. On the one hand, this may cause problems in the continuity of the succession process, and on the other, we must point out that those in white-collar management positions are significantly better off compared to white-collar employees in areas such as income, housing conditions and consumption. Looking at it from a different angle, some young people are put directly into positions of control, or are given assignments which also call for the administration of certain managerial tasks. When this happens, however, it soon becomes evident that most higher-educational institutions fail to prepare starting specialists for carrying out managerial functions. Having to learn, and learn to apply managerial know-how and skills only worsens the anxieties involved in starting a new job.

5. Young intellectuals consider their need for further training and professional development as natural requirements. More and more often, a young specialist will begin to work toward acquiring a specialized skill (i.e. economic specialist, economic engineer) shortly after the start of his career, more or less with the encouragement of his place of employment. The institutional system of vocational extension training, however, has only evolved properly in a few groups of professions.

6. The wages of young intellectuals directly upon entering work are relatively--in some professions not just relatively--low and slowly increasing. In a sense, the dependency status lingers on, since a large number of young people continue to depend on parental assistance. Wages depend not on the content or quality of the job, but primarily on the number of years spent on the job. Since they only belatedly join the social division of labor, young intellectuals are objectively unable to catch up quickly with other young people--of different professions--who belong to the same age group. According to the findings of a 1975 study, it is only at ages 30-35 that these young specialists begin to make as much as a group as those with only a secondary education, working in the same professional field. Not even by the time they retire are teachers able to eliminate the wage gap between themselves and the skilled workers, for example, which is created during the years they are in college. Looking at wages, we find that in the vocational fields requiring skilled labor there are essentially no wage increases according to age past the age of about 28 to 30. In the white-collar professions, however, such increases occur from beginning to end. If we make an international comparison we find that in our country age plays a far greater role in determining white-collar wages than it does in the developed capitalist countries.

The opportunities available to young intellectuals to enter into the second economy are considerably more limited, that is to say, they are also differentiated according to professions. All of this considerably changes the picture.

The key question regarding the social conditions of young intellectuals has to do with the prospects of solving the housing problem. Housing shortages may become the center of further problems: not having a home of his own, the young professional usually takes into account the proximity of his parents' home when selecting his first place of employment. As a result, disproportions may develop in the territorial distribution of certain professions.

In the country, in the villages the chances of finding housing are better than in the capital or in the larger cities. Offering housing in lower level settlements may enhance efforts to recruit and retain manpower. At the same time, it also

makes it possible for employers to meet the manpower needs of those branches which are considered less prestigious within a given profession. An apartment has great appeal, especially to those who cannot count on support from home, that is, to those youth who come from the more disadvantaged social strata. Today it would be hard to justify the continued granting of housing subsidies such as those enjoyed in certain settlements by workers of large-scale industrial state enterprises. By combining and simplifying the various different types of subsidies we could eliminate the basis of harmful conflicts.

In order to get an apartment, young people are forced to undertake financial burdens which are beyond their abilities, and as a result, career starting professionals are compelled to work on the side to supplement their income. It is in both our social and individual interest to ensure that such activities are socially necessary and that they increase income proportionately with their usefulness. At the same time, the undertaking of additional work also has an adverse effect on the direction of the young person's life precisely during the period when his intellectual habits and routines (self-education, refinement, language learning) are in the process of evolving.

The problems of young white-collar families are further aggravated by the limited possibilities for placing their children in nurseries or kindergartens. This is an especially great disadvantage to young women with advanced degrees, for the lack of spaces and the unavailability of family assistance forces them to stay at home. Being away from their jobs for an extended period of time means a significant setback for their professional improvement and progress.

"Intellectual" training--in addition to specialist training--is for the most part the task of higher education. Higher educational institutions do, more or less, provide young people with the skills and knowledge they need to become specialists, at the same time, however, they fail to adequately prepare them for the performance of intellectual functions. Another training deficiency is that young graduates generally do not possess adequate foreign language skills or well enough developed communicative abilities.

The fulfillment of intellectual functions--i.e. conveying cultural values, passing on knowledge and shaping the social consciousness-is an objective requirement. Therefore, it is important for us to know the direction in which our intelligentsia as a culture-conveying and opinion-shaping force is influencing the public opinion, political mood and the spiritual-ideological processes of our society.

Our society's interests demand that we create the necessary conditions--within the limits of the means available to us--which will enable our young intellectuals to live up to their roles stemming from the requirements of their intellectual being.

Starting a career and founding a family are sources of conflict for all young people. This is also true--especially in the above outlined areas--for the starting of intellectual careers. As they enter into the social division of labor, and into public life, young intellectuals become faced with various difficulties in their efforts to assume their role, which are further aggrevated by existentialist-social problems. At the same time, there are virtually no important, sociologically significant dimensions along which our white-collar workers and managers would not

be in a considerably better position than our skilled workers, for example. Therefore, perhaps it is not a mistake to point out that our young intelligentsia has far better chances to improve its lot than do the young people of other strata. In addition, only some of the conflicts related to starting an intellecutal career arise inevitably. Unnecessary and unjustified tensions can be resolved through conscious social effort.

In order to achieve this, we must transform the instructional system of higher education--as outlined in a recent political decision--in such a way so that the existing functional disorders can be eliminated. We should also think about increasing, as an incentive for and as a result of significant improvements in our economic efficiency, the number of students enrolled in day-time higher education. In addition, clear measures will be needed to resolve the presumably temporary tensions which are expected to arise in white-collar employment during the next few years. We must accelerate the perfection of new types of professional training which are more flexible to scientific-technological and social changes, and which instead of attempting to provide a complete professional knowledge, offer a kind of broad profile, basic professional training which can be continually expanded. The realization of intellectual functions, taken in the broader sense of the word, demands a higher level of general education, usable language skills and better developed communicative abilities. For the preservation and renewal of existing skills we need to establish a well-organized system of differentiated institutional extension training.

When first starting out in a job, it is especially important to put the young person in a position which is commensurate with his training, and to provide him with assignments which give him a chance to do some real work and to prove his abilities. The way this can be accomplished is not by separate measures, but primarily by making it the very source and also the result of vigorous improvements in social and economic efficiency.

Young intellectuals are rightfully complaining that performance is not being given primary consideration in the determination of wages. The realization of a wage-system which reflects performance, and which proportionately rises with its improvement, is a necessity which affects not only young intellectuals. In addition, there is another often heard point that deserves examining, according to which a more clear-cut wage differentiation should be introduced between blue-and white-collar employees, in the latter's favor.

An important element of the demands connected with the activity structure of young intellectuals is the need to become involved in community projects and to assume a public role. The openness of their views, their sensitivity to problems, their readiness to implement changes may serve as a tracting force for social organizations and movements, both at work and in their home communities. This, however, can only be attained by entrusting the young person with clear public duties and by assuring him that he can expect realistic interest representation. In this connection, we must take greater notice of one of the age-group characteristics of young people, which is that they can only undertake and identify with those tasks which are unfinished, incomplete and imperfect, or at least seem to be that on the surface. And our society is neither finished, complete or perfect; it can be continually built and changed based on our party's program and with the constructive participation of our masses. And this means plenty of clear and useful tasks for our young intellectuals, both in their professions and in public life.

9379
CSO: 2500/346

ELZBIETA PORTYKOS, ONLY WOMAN ON KKP, DEFENDS SOLIDARITY

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Aug 81 p 9

[Interview with Elzbieta Portykos, member of the National Consultative Commission by Krzysztof Wyszkowski; translated to Swedish and edited by Maciej Zaramba; date and place unspecified]

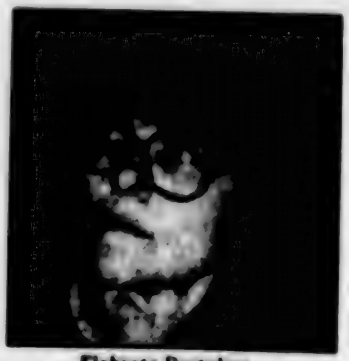
[Text] Elzbieta Portykos is the only woman on the 50-member KKP [National Consultative Commission], the highest leadership of the 10 million Poles who belong to Solidarity--Solidarnosc.

She was voted in after the strikes in the fall and since then has helped make decisions on general strikes, political and economic reform proposals--everything that makes up Solidarity's balancing act between the expectations of public opinion and the "geopolitical realities."

In a pause in KKP negotiations she gave an interview to the weekly publication SOLIDARNOSC which DAGENS NYHETER reproduces here in a somewhat abbreviated version.

[Question] How did you come to Solidarity?

[Answer] I took the events in 1956 very hard. Went to school then and felt ready for any sacrifices that were needed.



Elzbieta Portykos

The renewal in 1970 also involved me entirely, I believed in it and was prepared to send my private best wishes to Gierek and his group. But that involvement soon died down--in 1976 I went through an everyday hardship and had a child. As it then turned out many problems remained unsolved--and insoluble. I had a chance to really re-examine my involvement and my ideals. And I said to myself, never again. No one and no event will get me to become involved in another "renewal."

[Question] But August came and you were there again.

[Answer] I come from the Gdynia area. My father and one of my brothers are shipyard workers, the other brother is a seaman. So when telephone communications with Gdansk were interrupted I rushed there.

I was uneasy about them, I knew that something was happening and I remembered what happened in 1979. (See Footnotes)

And there I realized that this time it was an entirely different kind of people who were trying to bring about a change. Not those who had let me down the time before. I realized there really was a chance!

While I was in Gdansk a strike committee was formed where I worked. That had never happened before, there are no large industries in Koszalin. Now everyone was pulled into the new organization--and I was too.

[Question] And what is it like for you?

[Answer] My situation is unusual and harder than that of the others. I have a young child whom I raise alone. Just now, for example, he is with my mother. There was a time when I took him with me to Warsaw and the KKP meetings and left him alone in the hotel with his toys.

I am not employed by Solidarity, I still have my old job. This means I can take care of some of the union work on the job but most of the contacts with other job sites and KKP work must come in my spare time. The result is that I neglect my home and my child.

[Question] Is the big work burden women must bear the reason why you are the only woman in KKP?

[Answer] Undoubtedly. In our MKZ [Interfactory Founding Committee] there are some women Solidarity officials who have families, it is much harder for them than for the others. (See Footnotes)

[Question] Has KKP ever taken up the special problems of women?

[Answer] No, nothing except what came out of the August agreement, that is maternity leaves, retirement age, etc. (See Footnotes)

[Question] Do you feel this should be changed?

[Answer] I don't know. I represent an unpopular standpoint--I am opposed to special treatment for women. I feel no better and no worse than a man. I work like one.

[Question] But single mothers have it extra hard.

[Answer] Women always have more to do. Even if men share in the housework women have the extra burden of typical women's activities.

[Question] But lying on the couch and reading the paper after dinner is not a woman's job?

[Answer] Exactly. I don't even have time to read the paper, let alone thousands of other things. Most women don't have time for that kind of thing.

[Question] And is it really impossible for Solidarity to change that?

[Answer] The situation of women depends in large measure on the nature of women and the special culture in which we live...

[Question] And that special culture makes you the only woman in KKP?

[Answer] Yes. But is it Solidarity's job to change that? I don't think it's a matter of that but of freeing me from standing in line for hours so I have time for other things, such as reading.

Improving the economic situation is the most important thing. In addition Solidarity could take the initiative on institutions making it easier for women to carry out their most important job--rearing children. Our daycare centers are just babysitting services. Women have to correct a lot of pedagogic errors at home later.

And then there is health care. A solution to that problem would really make life easier for women. But that will take years.

[Question] The movement's program includes preserving the family, moral values, combatting alcoholism. (See Footnotes)

[Answer] Yes, these are issues that affect women more than they do men. Therefore I think an effort should be made to get more women actively involved even though in a sense this violates democratic principles. (See Footnotes)

But I am totally opposed to all kinds of quota systems, 5 percent women, 8 percent unaffiliated, 10 percent blue-collar workers, etc.

At the same time it is good to have women better represented in the organizations. They provide a complementary, vital voice.

[Question] If it's hard to make a mark in the Solidarity leadership perhaps one should create...

[Answer] A Solidarity women's union? Good for you--it's not a question of having a hard time making a mark. No one has put up any barriers for me.

In my opinion the poor representation of women is not due to external circumstances, I don't see any effort being made to keep women out of the leadership. Perhaps many women, as I once did, have decided never to get involved in politics again and have taken up knitting instead. It is less hazardous to your health, leads to fewer disappointments, you can unravel a piece and knit it up again.

[Question] Or knit the whole thing over as Solidarity has done in politics. Here women's sense of reality ought to come in very handy.

[Answer] Yes, it would certainly be good for Solidarity to have more women in the leadership.

During KKP meetings I sometimes have the feeling that I'm sitting among a bunch of boys who haven't finished playing with their toy soldiers and now at last have a chance to outbid each other with their clever phrases.

It is as if I were looking at my little son. One must bear with it for a while. Then one has to straighten them out. I do that. Even if I lose friends that way. That's the way I am.

Although people accuse women of fastening on details and exaggerating them I think some women--those with experience and a broad perspective--would contribute to clarity and objectivity in KKP discussions.

[Question] Things seem to be quite chaotic at KKP meetings...

[Answer] I think there are two reasons for that.

For one thing there is a lack not of training but of experience in public activity. One sees that in the way people talk and argue. For another some delegates think their personal experiences are identical with those of society in general. In that way they represent themselves, in other words their life experiences. Therefore we don't have good and efficient meetings.

[Question] Where does all the distrust of experts outside KKP come from?

[Answer] From historical experience. Distrust is a social disease created by deacdes of decisions made in our name by other people.

[Question] Now the leaders of Solidarity are making many decisions in the name of others.

[Answer] Yes and on matters that really call for special expertise where experts should be asked. It is also dangerous. In my opinion there are two kinds of questions; one of them involves universal issues--where all of us know enough to have an opinion.

There we should make decisions on the basis of public opinion.

In the specialized questions opinions should rest on the work of experts and KKP should be careful about questioning results arrived at by expertise. Otherwise we could be accused of the same incompetence of which we have accused the government in the past.

[Question] All of this is due to the fact that KKP is an entirely new and unique creation in Polish politics. (See Footnotes) Is it a good construction or do you think others are better suited to lead Solidarity?

[Answer] No. I believe in the good common sense of those who work, especially those from the working class. They are receptive to argument and capable of changing their views. I believe in their historic wisdom which does not come from books but from their own experience and from recent history.

[Question] What is Solidarity's most important task?

[Answer] To educate a new kind of person.

For me it is not so important how much a kilogram of pork ends up costing. But I am alarmed by the opportunism, the degree of moral decay our society is subjected to, even children. But I realize this kind of change is much harder to achieve than the changes that produce good contracts or free Saturdays.

[Question] Does the opportunism you speak of exist in Solidarity too?

[Answer] Yes. As soon as the movement started growing people turned up who began using it. One example. My car broke down on the way to a KKP meeting. Someone said: "Go to the state repair shop, POLMOZBYT, and say you are from the Solidarity leadership. Then you'll get your car fixed without having to wait in line and get it done for nothing too." That shows an opportunistic and dangerous mentality. People should be judged on their own merits not according to whether they have a brother-in-law working for the state or a father-in-law in Solidarity. But to avoid this kind of thing one must first have a functioning system of trade and services.

This involves a rebirth of respect and trust in human relations and in human ideas such as one now finds only in literature. The last 35 years have demoralized the nation. But a change of mentality will take many years, especially when the economic situation is so difficult.

It's easier to behave like a gentleman in a streetcar that isn't crowded, don't you think?

[Question] Many thanks. Say a little about yourself.

[Answer] I live in Koszalin, not a typical workers' city. I work as a business lawyer for the UNITRA-UNIMA vacuum technology plant. I'm quite new there, left

my old job because they violated the labor laws there. Have a 5-year-old son I am bringing up myself. A very intelligent boy. He'll certainly be a good union man, he understands my needs precisely.

For instance he'll say, "You have to go to the meeting, otherwise you won't know what happened." He answers the telephone and keeps track of people I am going to meet. He even understands political structures, including the Solidarity hierarchy. So he'll probably make a better official than his mother.

FOOTNOTES

In 1970 hundreds of striking workers in Gdansk were shot down by policemen who had been ordered out.

MKZ is a regional leadership within Solidarity.

The August agreement of 1980 was reached between the government and Solidarity.

Moral has a different sound in Polish than it does in Swedish. In Poland it refers to truthfulness, fairness, responsibility and an ethical attitude.

Democratic principles in this context refers to a current discussion within Solidarity based on not forcing anyone to participate in political life against his or her will.

KKP is made up primarily of workers, strike leaders from August 1980.

6578
CSO: 3109/235

DECREE ON EXAMINATIONS IN FIELD OF CIVIL NAVIGATION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 56, 28 Jul 81 p 2

[Council of State Decree on Examinations in the Field of Civil Navigation]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Bookkeeping examinations and technical administrations and local bureaus for technical examinations, by experts or other specialists, according to the law.

In complex cases or those which are important for the national economy, examinations in the field of civil navigation can also be given by institutions of higher education, by institutes for scientific research, design and technological engineering, under the conditions stipulated by law.

Article 2--Extra-judicial examinations in the field of civil navigation, requested by Romanian or foreign juridical or physical persons, are permitted by captains of ports, if the law does not provide otherwise.

Article 3--The cost of the examinations in the field of civil navigation given at request or officially, for foreign juridical persons or physical persons, is determined and collected in hard currency, in accordance with the amounts specified in the annex which is an integral part of the present decree.[1)]

The fees stipulated in the annex to the present decree are minimum fees and they will be updated annually, at the proposal of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications.

For other naval examinations besides th. se specified in the annex, the fees in hard currency will be set by the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, and the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, in accordance with the fees stipulated in the present decree and in accordance with international practice.

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[1] The annex is being communicated to the institutions concerned.

The Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications will adapt the level of fees in hard currency, specified in the annex to the present decree, without going below their limits, in accordance with the evolution of the fees for examinations of the same type prevalent in the international sphere.

Article 4--The cost of examinations in the field of civil navigation given to foreign juridical or physical persons is deposited in or, according to the case, transferred to the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, in hard currency.

The equivalent in lei, determined in accordance with the law, of the hard currency sums deposited in or transferred to the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank is transferred to the account of the financial administrations or, according to the case, to the account of the Central Bureau for Technical Examinations. From the sums deposited, the financial administrations and the Central Bureau for Technical Examinations will give the recompense due to the experts or the specialized institutions, under conditions of the law, and the difference will be deposited in the state budget.

Article 5--For services provided in the ports and the national waters of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at the request of foreign juridical or physical persons, the fees provided by law for these activities will be applied.

Article 6--The coordination, control and direction of the activity of examinations in the naval field will be carried out, for bookkeeping examinations, by the Ministry of Finance and for technical examinations, by the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 24 July 1981

No 212

CSO: 2700/369

DECREE ON EFFECTIVE USE OF SPARE SPACE IN CERTAIN UNITS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 56, 28 Jul 81 pp 1, 2

[Council of State Decree on the Use of Unused Spaces or of Spaces Which Are Not Being Used at Full Capacity, which Belong to State Socialist Units, Cooperative Units and Public Organizations, for Production, Small Industry, Services, Trade, or Small Handicraft Activities]

[Text] As a result of the measures adopted for the improvement of production activity, for the better circulation of goods and packaging, and for the elimination of intermediate storage areas, numerous areas have become available or are not being used to full capacity.

With a view to achieving an integral and effective use of these spaces for the development of the activities of production, small industry, services, trade, artisan, and small handicraft activities, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--As of the date of the present decree, unused spaces or those which are not being used to full capacity, which belong to state and cooperative units and to public organizations, identified in annexes 1-34 [1], will be given to units subordinate to the peoples councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality, the ministries, the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives, the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives and the public organizations, so that they can be used for production, for small industry, for services, for trade, artisan and small handicraft activities, for the stated purposes.

The handing over and taking over of the spaces will be executed on the basis of an agreement concluded with the organs concerned, together with the entire inventory, the equipment and the workers, as of 1 April 1981. The personnel who go to the new units are considered transferred in the interest of the job.

Article 2--The ministries, the other central organs and the peoples councils are obliged to ensure that the units are properly equipped and put into operation immediately, for the stated purpose.

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[1] The annexes are being communicated to the institutions concerned.

Also, they will ensure the proper use of all areas and equipment, under conditions of increased efficiency, for the continued improvement of the activities of production, of small industry, services and trade, for the purpose of increasing the volume of services and consumer goods requested by the people.

Article 3--The ministries, the other central organs and the peoples councils have the task of identifying, on a continuing basis, all the spaces which have become free or which are not being used to full capacity and of taking measures so that they will be used effectively for production, services, trade, for the development of small industry and of artisan and handicraft activities, for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the people at a superior qualitative level.

Article 4--The State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, together with the local and central organs concerned will submit, for approval, the modifications in the single national plan for economic and social development as well as in the volume and structure of the state budget for 1981 which result from the application of the present decree.

Article 5--Annexes 1-34 are an integral part of the present decree.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 23 July 1981

No 209

CSO: 2700/369

ROLE OF BUREAU OF BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATION REVIEWED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 81 pp 79-82

[Article by Ioachim Moga, first deputy chief of the Section for Party Organization of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party: "The Bureau of the Base Organization - A Collective Organ"]

[Text] As the executive organ of the general assembly elected to lead all current activities of the base organization, the bureau has to carry out special tasks. It is called upon to organize and ensure the application of the decisions of the general assembly and the carrying out of the tasks stemming from party and state decisions, to judiciously distribute the resources of the base organization in order to cover all sectors, regions and problems, to constantly oversee adherence to internal party democracy and communist discipline, and to create all the conditions so that each party member will actively take part in all the activities of the organization. Similarly, it is also asked to organize all propaganda work and political-ideological training for the communists and to instruct and coordinate the collective's activities for agitators and editorial staffs of gazettes, satircal gazettes and radio stations. In addition, it prepares on-time general assemblies and exercises a systematic review in all fields of activity, promptly informing its superior organ about special problems.

This succinct presentation of the tasks clearly shows the complexity and importance of each bureau's activities. The fundamental condition for fulfilling them is the direct application of the principle of collective work, which, in addition to other principles and norms, ensures the full use of the experience, knowledge and initiative of the party organs and the communists.

Through the manner itself in which it is elected and formed and through the structure and functions that it carries out, the bureau of the base organization is ensured of having all the premises for working and leading in a collective manner.

How are these requirements stated in the affairs and activities of each bureau?

First of all, it is necessary for the bureau and each of its members to effectively contribute to the organiz tion and review of the carrying out of decisions adopted by the general assembly. It is known that within its framework the members frequently

establish that which is to be done for the purpose of resolving those problems under discussion, as well as those for which they are responsible. At the same time, however, numerous proposals are issued and various observations are made in the assemblies. This is also the source of the necessity, after the assembly, for the bureau to carefully examine, whenever necessary along with the chiefs of the units, sections, workshops, working group, teams and so forth, the opinions that have been expressed and the suggestions advanced by the participants in the discussions, to establish measures for their implementation, to constantly pursue from day-to-day how the decisions are implemented, to give the necessary help to those who have to carry out diverse tasks and to promptly intervene to prevent any shortcomings.

Second, the bureau and each of its members must work to resolve the economic, social, organizational and educational problems that appear between meetings and to effectively organize the carrying out of the tasks stemming from the party and state documents, the directives given by the secretary general of the party and the decisions of the higher party organs. In such cases, without waiting for the next general assembly, it is necessary to establish precisely what is to be done by the base organization, the bureau and other social-civic organisms. But, this cannot be left solely to the secretary and the deputy secretaries, but it is necessary to have the thoughts and action of the entire bureau. Things proceed well in those places where, immediately after the appearance of a party document or certain directives or decisions of higher party organs, the members of the bureaus study them carefully, consult with other communists and then meet and decide how to take actions to implement the tasks.

Third, the participation of the entire bureau is absolutely necessary when future activities are planned. In many organizations, it has become the norm for members of the bureau, on the basis of their tasks, consultations with party members and the conclusions drawn from their day-to-day activities, to make specific proposals and to effectively participate in completing the annual list of themes. This list is to give priority attention to the quarterly work plan, being careful to ensure dealing with the most important and most pressing problems, to outline in the work plan precise, clearly expressed objectives with specific timeframes and responsibilities and to unite all forces to fulfill them.

Fourth, while permanently pursuing the flow of activities at each place of work, the bureau is called upon to take effective measures to generally spread all those things that appear that are new and valuable, as well as those methods and progressive initiatives that can be used to eliminate any shortfalls in achieving the plan tasks and to eliminate examples of a lack of discipline and deficiencies in bringing supplies to the worksites and in granting technical assistance. Similarly, the job of the bureau is to promptly intervene whenever it finds a waste of raw materials, materials, fuels or energy, the inappropriate operation of machinery and equipment, negligence in carrying out work tasks and so forth. The bureau is asked to effectively bring into discussion their valuable experiences and the means to spread these to others, and negative aspects and to call to task those work chiefs and any party members who do not conscientiously exercise their attributes and their tasks, to establish the necessary measures for the purpose of uniting all

forces to directly achieve the party's decisions and to permanently give the appropriate assistance and constantly exercise an exacting control.

Finally, beginning with the conclusion that the activities of the bureau of the base organization become more fruitful and more efficiency as a greater number of party members make their contributions, the bureau has the high responsibility of permanently attracting these people to the study, discussion and solution of the more important problems, the initiation and carrying out of certain actions and the preparation of the general assemblies. The practice of certain bureas has proven useful with regards to naming in the work plans those party members who are to contribute to attaining the outlined objectives, and to giving certain specific tasks to certain communists in order to fulfill the obligations stemming from party and state decisions, the directives of the secretary general of the party, the measures taken by the high party organs and the decisions of the general assembly or the bureau.

Some bureaus of base organizations still do not give full attention to the organization and implementation of their activities on a collective basis, with full responsibility for fulfilling tasks being left to the secretary. And, for one single person it is difficult, if not impossible, to resolve all the problems that spring up. Blank spots then appear in activities, which become sporadic and inefficient. The result? Such practices damage the work of the bureau, which then cannot succeed in expressing its active presence at the places of work under all circumstances and cannot promptly work to fulfill its tasks and eliminate shortcomings.

The principles of collective work and leadership must be understood not only in the sense of discussing problems and jointly elaborating a framework for carrying out actions, but especially in the sense of c .lectively participating in the management of all activities and the application of decisions. This is also the reasoning behind the assignment of specific tasks to each member of the bureau.

One of the first problems that arises deals with the need to encompass as best as possible the entire problem of party work, with each member of the bureau being responsible for a certain field of activity. The Statute of the Romanian Communist Party mentions that the bureau of the base organization elects the secretary and the deputy secretaries. According to the improvements made to the Instructions of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party regarding the election of local party organs, after the application of the decisions of the July 1979 Plenary Session of the Central Committee, the number of communists elected to the bureau of a base organization is establishing depending upon the strength of this organization, generally electing one bureau member for every 10 communists.

For example, a base organization that has between 10 and 30 communists elects a bureau made up of 3 members. In those organizations that have a larger number of communists, according to the abovementioned norm, the number of people elected

to the bureau will, certainly, be greater, but not, however, exceeding 11 people. Base organizations that have less than 10 members elect a secretary and one deputy secretary. Depending upon the specific situation, smaller organizations elect one deputy secretary to the bureau, those with a larger number elect two deputy secretaries, while those that are even larger elect three deputy secretaries. In cases where there are three deputy secretaries, one will handle organizational affairs, one propaganda affairs and one economic affairs. Where there are two deputy secretaries, they will have responsibilities in organizational and propaganda affairs, with economic and professional affairs being handled, normally, by the secretary of the base organization.

With regards to the responsibilities of the other members of the bureau, experience shows that generally valid answers cannot be given since the specific conditions under which the bureaus carry out their activities differ and some have a large number of members and others a small number. What is important is for no area of party work to be left uncovered, which means in cases where there are only a few members some people will have to cover two or three problem areas.

Similarly, it is necessary for each member of the bureau to have precisely defined areas of responsibility. It should be remembered, however, that, in accordance with the principle adopted by the National Party Conference in 1967 which stated that overlapping and intermediary levels must be eliminated in the guidance of mass and public organizations, communists in the leadership of these bureaus are directly responsible for the manner in which the party line is introduced and applied. In cases where the president of the trade union organization committee, the organizer of the trade union group, the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth organization and the president of the women's commission belong to the bureau of the base organization, there is no need for other members in the bureau to be tasked with handling these organizations. The party directive must be kept in mind regarding the fact that the secretary of the base organization must be directly responsible for handling the activities of the youth organization.

Certainly, such a division of responsibilities in the guidance and control of mass and public organizations does not also relieve the bureau of the base organization from handling these areas. On the contrary, the entire bureau, bearing the responsibility for the proper operation of trade union, youth and other activities, is called upon to permanently supervise the manner in which these activities take place and to contribute to the uncovering and spread of positive experiences and the quick identification and solution of any type of shortcoming.

A second problem involves ensuring coverage of all places of activity by the members of the bureau and strengthening their responsibility for everything that happens in these places. This is also the reason for the care expressed by numerous bureaus to carry out such a distribution of their members so that they will be present at kep places of work, on shifts, in work groups, teams and so forth. Under such conditions, when each one is responsible for a certain place of work, it is not only natural, but also absolutely necessary to deal with all problems that arise at these places that are within the scope of party work so that nothing escapes from the view of the bureau and the entire organization.

The assignment of attributes and tasks must be done as rationally as possible, keeping in mind the experience, training and abilities of each person and, especially, the specific needs of party work. It should be remembered that, as outlined in the Statutes of the Romanian Communist Party, members of party organs, therefore also of the bureaus of base organizations, are responsible both for fulfilling the tasks in their assigned areas of work and for the activities of the entire organ to which they belong. The bureau cannot be indifferent with regards to how each of its members works. Along this line, in many organizations a strong atmosphere of mutual assistance has been created, with those members of the bureau with more experience helping those who are newly elected or those working for the first time in new fields to better understand and thoroughly organize their work in order to carry it out. Actually, the experience of many bureaus shows that activities become more fruitful as each bureau creates all the conditions necessary so that all the members can participate effectively and actively in all their work. These members, for their part, must work with the highest responsibility to carry out the mandate given to them.

Of first priority is the regular meeting of the members of the bureau in order to discuss and resolve certain problems. An especially important role is played by the bureau session. We should note the concern of an ever greater number of base organization bureaus for judiciously scheduling, within their work plan, those themes that will be discuss in the bureau, who is responsible for the proper preparation of the session and what will be done to this end. Experience shows that, depending on the problems that are to be discussed, it is good for some bureau sessions to be attended by invited persons and other communists and personnel from the leaderships at units, sections, workshops, work groups, schools and so forth, with many bureaus examining in these sessions how certain decisions and provisions in the work plan and party work in the economic-social, organizational and propaganda fields are carried out, listening to reports from the heads of work places, chiefs of mass and public organizations and so forth. No matter the problem is presented for discussion, each bureau session must be thoroughly prepared in order to be carried out in a strong work atmosphere and an atmosphere appropriate for the open expression of opinions, statements without reservations about criticism and self-criticism, and, especially, proposals and solutions for adopting certain more judicious measures.

It has proven effective for the secretary to consult with the other members of the bureau or a portion of them for the purpose of immediately resolving certain problems without postponing the application of the necessary measures and the reciprocal consultation between bureau members in workshops, sections, in the fields and so forth for the purpose of better carrying out certain tasks and eliminating shortcomings and difficulties. The secretary's regular briefing of the other members of the bureau regarding the demands that spring up, the tasks outlined by the higher organs concerning the manner in which it has worked to fulfill the established decisions and measures, the presentation of reports by members of the bureau regarding the concern for carrying out their tasks and

the systematic analysis of the flow of activities in diverse areas are other means which contribute to the strengthening of the nature of collective work and to the development of the responsibility of each member towards exercising their mandate.

Covering and fulfilling tasks under the best possible conditions and maintaining a dynamic, creative spirit full of initiative in all activities are supported by the collective participation of the members in all the bureau's work and the growth of responsibility of each member regarding his mandate, which make easier the achievement of all tasks with the best possible results by those who are in the staff of each base organization.

8724
CSO: 2700/365

ENVOY TO ISRAEL ON BILATERAL RELATIONS, PLO

TA191923 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1830 GMT 19 Aug 81

[Excerpts] Tel Aviv, 19 Aug--The relations between Romania and Israel are good and positive, the Romanian ambassador to Israel, Constantin Vasiliu, said in a news conference held today at the Romanian Embassy in Tel Aviv on the occasion of the 37th independence day of Romania.

The ambassador added that good relations also existed with the parties, economic organizations, artists, scientists and intellectuals. He noted that the Romanian president and foreign minister had sent their congratulations to the Israeli prime minister when the latter formed the new government. The ambassador emphasized Romania's desire to develop relations between the two countries and noted that all the conditions existed for cooperation in a friendly and constructive spirit.

Replying to a question regarding Romania's position concerning the PLO, the ambassador explained at length that Romania was taking into account the fact that the PLO was an existent organization representing almost all the standpoints of the Palestinian people--the PLO is an organization representing the Palestinians. However, nobody could guarantee that this organization would remain in its present form or whether it would remain the only organization in a Palestinian state to be. The ambassador added that the PLO held positions and goals which were not acceptable by Romania and many countries in the world. The PLO was also issuing extreme and nervous [as published] declarations. However, these were mainly for internal consumption. The ambassador noted that Romania advocates the establishment of peace among all the nations in the region and is opposed to military intervention in another country as well as to attacks on civilian population. Romania refrains from offering solutions to others but it supports the right of the Palestinians for self-determination.

At the beginning of the news conference the ambassador reviewed the economic situation in Romania which is affected by crises in the world. Romania tries not to expand development in order not to increase its foreign debts. It conducts a policy of thrift and looks for independent sources of energy.

Replying to a question, the ambassador noted that the relations between Romania and the United States were good. The relations with Poland were also good and Romania thinks that one should not interfere in the internal affairs of another country. Poland should be allowed to solve its problems on its own.

CSO: 4323/48

EFFORTS TO COMBAT RELIGION IN MEHEDINTI COUNTY

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 81 pp 83-86

[Article by Maria Cozma: "The Continuing Flux of Materialist-Scientific Education"]

[Text] A discussion on the theme of materialist-scientific activities conducted with party cadre and other persons involved in the educational process at the different levels in Mehedinti County shows meritorious concern in this field.

Materialist-scientific educational activities occupy a separate, important place in the program of activities of the county council of political education and socialist culture. One of the directions of priority orientation in this work is, and rightly so, the dissemination of cultural-scientific knowledge, the explanation and mass popularization of certain physical, chemical, biologicalm geological, cosmic and historical-social phenomena and so forth.

To this end, a series of means of communicating with the workers is used, some being better known - speeches, discussions, reporting sessions, scientific encounters and experiences, question and answer sessions, book reviews, documentary films and so forth - and others ever more insistently taking their place among the efficient means in clarifying problems and convincing the masses, such as the lecture program with parents, the atheism and astronomy clubs created in schools like the "Stefan Plavat" High School in Orsova and the "Traian" High School in Drobeta-Turnu Severin, the dialogues on atheistic themes promoted by the Vinju Mare City Council of Political Education and Socialist Culture, a series of observations and meetings with astronomers and meterologists and so forth.

According to the directives of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in recent times the education of the masses in the materialist spirit has experienced a clear intensification in the county. The Mehedinti County Party Committee is taking care to give this activity a quality adequate for the existing conditions and phenomena in each collective group. In this regard, at certain intervals we are undertaking studies, sociological research and tests to pursue the evolution of the mystic phenomenon and to understand its implications in social-economic affairs and the degree of political, scientific, cultural and professional training of the different categories of workers. One such study, conducted with the help of certain specialized personnel from the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy and the University of Craiova, institutes with which we systematically

cooperate in this regard, presented to the party organ, among other things, a series of data regarding the negative effects of the activities of religious sects in both urban and rural settings and of superstitions, which still persist, especially in the villages. A portion of village inhabitants, respecting religious holidays, also still believe in different superstitions - "it is not good to work grapes on Fridays," "three Thursdays and three Tuesdays after Easter the land must not be worked, otherwise hailstones will fall or a blight will come," "on the ninth Sunday after Easter, grain must not be disturbed or it will be blighted" and so forth. As a result, they do not work the fields, losing approximately 25 percent of the good working time each year. Some citizens still practice magic.

Knowing all this, therefore, the county committee is directing activities to disseminate cultural knowledge - by lecturers, scientific working groups, films, specialized books - depending upon the specific realities in each region, locality and place of work. Thus, the 42 scientific working groups, 8 mixed groups and 34 specialized ones, made over 200 trips since 1980 up to now in nearly all the county localities. The themes covered in speeches, answers to questions, experiences and practical demonstrations dealt with a broad area of ideas, from the explanation of certain phenomena in nature and society - lightening, thunder, hail, rain, earthquakes, dreams, hypnosis, diseases and their causes, the need for a good diet and the need to work the land under optimum conditions - to the open presentation of the party's position regarding religion, of the opposition between religion and science, of the key points of the materialist-dialectical concept regarding the world and life, and so forth. A number of documentary films were shown around - "From the Atom to the Crystal," "Us and the Sun," "The Genesis of Religion," "The Movement of the Earth's Crust," "The Origins and Evolution of Mammals," "Man on the Moon" and so forth. Also, 14 handouts were published: "Science, Research and Development," "Medicine Serving Life," "In the Spirit of the Law," "Population and Development" and so forth, which made a significant contribution to popularizing the advances of science and technology.

The county party committee is trying to place scientific activities for material education and combatting superstition and mysticism on methodological bases. To this end, periodical analyses are being conducted in bureau or plenary sessions regarding the carrying out of atheist education or other convergent facets, and exchanges of experiences and instruction sessions with responsible persons (deputy secretaries for propaganda, lecturers, propagandists and so forth) are being initiated. In this regard, one especially fruitful format is the information and reporting session organized by the county party organ each year, now in its ninth year. In these sessions, with the help of numerous leadership cadre from the county, city and town level, certain specialists and invited guests from other counties, a rich flow of information is achieved regarding the content, forms, methods and means of carrying out materialist-scientific education, bringing culture to the masses and rapidly transmitting certain good experiences in this field, with this constituting a thorough methodical instruction of all those who are called upon to carry out the educational process and increase political-social responsibility.

Promising Efforts Along the Lines of Secularizing Certain Customs and Traditions

Another direction in which the county party committee is concentrating efforts is that of promoting certain celebrations and customs of a secular nature and of secularizing the manner of marking important moments in the lives of the people. Measures were taken so, on the basis of certain scenarios and presentations of customs and traditions elaborated by the county center for guiding popular creative work, all educational factors at the county level can agree on the organization of certain traditional secular celebrations: the Celebration of the Lilac in the towns of Ponoarele and Nadanova, the Celebration of the Locust Tree in Hinova and Siseşti, the Celebration of the Linden Tree in Strehaia and Prunişor, the Popular Song and Dance Festival in Cosustei Valley, the Celebration of the Grain and Hard Work in Girla Mare and so forth. All these have become true moments for expressing the happiness and satisfaction for the fruits of the people's labors. Along the same line, efforts are being made to remove the so-called holy-days from under mystical influences, with the town and city party committees being helped in organizing broad cultural-artistic events, amusements and dances during these days.

In many places, it is starting to become a practice to celebrate birthdays, the age of majority, wedding days, seniority at work, retirements and so forth. Thus, conditions are being created to achieve an affective climate of friendship, comradeship, respect and esteem towards each person.

Communists - Active Workers for Imprinting Atheist Beliefs in the People's Conscience

In order for all scientific educational work and work for the formation of certain materialist beliefs and the liberation of all those still under the influence of mysticism to give the desired results, it is absolutely necessary for the activities coordinated and carried out by the county party committee to be actively sustained by each party organ and organization in the county. What can be said from this point of view?

Without a doubt, the municipal, city, town, enterprise and institute committees and the cultural centers are also organizing their own actions of the type mentioned above. Experience attests, however, that the efficiency of the educational process in general, and especially of those complex facets of rooting out retrograde ideas, mentalities and practices from the conscience and behaviors of certain people, and of forming materialist beliefs depend directly upon the means of dealing with [illegible]lems, in close relation to the situation encountered, from one case to anoth[illegible] the necessary tact and firmness. We have encountered in some party organs such a[illegible]mpts to specialize as much as possible the educational process. For example, it is worth noting the measure initiated by the Orsova City Party Committee, together with the base organizations in the schools, to place children whose behavior and conscience are under the influence of mysticism into the direct care of each teacher. The Vinju Mare City Party Committee has,

in recent times, promoted popular meetings, from fall through spring, in which it develops an active dialogue with different categories of citizens of the city and more restricted groups - homemakers, cooperatists and so forth, regarding themes on the formation of scientific views about the world, the explanation of certain phenomena, and the unscientific nature of the superstitions that still exist in the region.

In this context, the party organizations, which represent the optimum framework for understanding and dealing with these aspects from one individual to another, certainly play a decisive role.

The majority of educational-formative activities carried out by the party organization at the Drobeta-Turnu Severin Clothing Enterprise are naturally directed at young people averaging 22 years of age who are faced with big decisions: starting a family and ensuring a certain, free and honest future. Not by chance, the most frequently dealt with themes have to do with happiness and love, with the manner in which these philosophical categories are viewed by science, religion and our party, and with the differences between socialists morals and religious ones. Great attention is given to strengthening work collectives, friendship and affection between people, with celebrations regularly being organized in work collectives for birthdays, weddings and retirements. In this manner, the collective in which organizations No 5 operates succeeded in removing the young girl A. M., who otherwise was a hard-working and conscientious person, from the influence of a religious sect to which her parents belonged, who would not permit her to marry anyone who was not of the same beliefs. Surrounded by the attention of her colleagues and parentally guided by her older comrades and by the secretary of the party organization, who pledged to help her start off on a good and sure path, the young girl soon married to her heart's content, completely breaking with religious precepts.

A series of situations demonstrates, however, that some party organs have not fully mastered all aspects of the mystic phenomenon and are not in all cases working systematically with the power of conviction and necessary effectiveness to block the path of mysticism and superstition and to arm party members and other workers with a thorough materialist-scientific knowledge.

As has been seen, certain citizens do not work a significant number of days each year, besides Sundays and in some towns there are signs of the existence of certain superstitions and unhealthy practices which, if they would be systematically combatted in a constant and convincing manner by party organs, communists and other educational authorities using the political means available, would have their sphere of expression restricted without a doubt. One step of great use in combatting these retrograde states of affairs would be the popular calendar of superstitions, which the county commission on the spread of scientific knowledge is putting together and which, when made available to the town organs, will provide specific data and calculations regarding the economic consequences suffered as a result of the people not working on certain days and will increase the efficiency of organized actions.

Generally, it is easy to pass over some facts and their frequently sufficiently serious results. In the town of Timna, the young girl of 22 years, L. G., having been subjected by her own parents to the exacerbated cannons of the "adventist-reformist" sect - operating outside of the law, was led to fast to a state of grave undernourishment, to a weight of 26 kg - just one step from death, a moment held by the precepts of the sect and considered as supreme happiness. Certainly, if the town party committee, communists and other educational authorities within the community had known and had been closely interested in each situation and each citizen, and if a sustained and rich preventative activity had been carried out to reveal certain mystical and inhumane concepts and practices, then such especially dangerous events would not have happened.

Such happenings must be completely excluded from our social life and in order to achieve this the party organs are called upon to express greater intransigence in the educational-formative activities they carry out and a better receptiveness to the situations that appear and the problems and needs of the people. We believe that this case, completely out of the ordinary and brought to the public opinion in the county by the local newspaper VIITORUL, and these degrading practices and rituals, which flagrantly infringe upon the idea itself of man, should constitute for both the Timna Town Party Committee and for all the other party organs and organizations in the county solid reasons for intensifying all activities dedicated to removing certain citizens from the evil influence of mystical and obscurantist prejudices. Unfortunately, too few of them have thought to discuss this event with the people.

Certainly, the majority of the educational activities that are organized include party members in their sphere of activity. But, this is not sufficient. In the base organizations and in the ranks of the party members, there is need for a much more insistent and more organized educational work. They must be clearly shown that our party's ideology and its revolutionary concept about life are in total contradiction with the appearance of one religious cult or another.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu maintained in the Report given to the 12th Party Congress: "It is an anachronism in the era of the great advances of the technical-scientific revolutionary and knowledge when the people are being affirmed as the conscious creator of all material and spiritual values, that there still are people, even party members, who believe in supernatural forces."

Discussion conducted with some cadre, like Elena Patrascu, the secretary of the party committee at the Orsova "Cazane" Enterprise, Sarlota Balaci, the deputy secretary of the party committee at the Drobeta-Turnu Severin Clothing Enterprise, Constantin Paris, the deputy secretary of the Sisesti Town Party Committee and so forth, show that party organizations are only very sporadically carrying out, and then only when certain more unusual situations appear, actions involving materialist education, stating the communist position regarding mystical concepts and forming atheist convictions. For that reason, it is no wonder that at any given moment one can find that some party members are also participating in the

rituals of certain religious cults. Such is the state of affairs with two party members in Sisesti who have selected the path of ignorance and mysticism. Certainly, if the party organizations would systematically carry out the activities designed to explain these problems and to help in mastering materialist-scientific concepts about the world and society and the concept of being a communist, such phenomena would no longer occur.

These facts raise problems of major significance for the county party committee with regards to taking further and spreading the positive experiences acquired in disseminating scientific knowledge and forming a materialist belief in the people and to bringing to all party organs and organizations a more permanent and systematic concern in this field and firmer attitudes against the damaging and retrograde manifestations that are contrary to the ethical profile of the builders of the new, socialist society.

8724
CSO: 2700/365

THEORIES ON ORIGIN OF MOLDAVIAN HUNGARIANS

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 2 Jul 81 p 24

/Article by Constantin Beloiu: "Prof Dumitru Martinas and the Problem of the Ethnic-Historical Origin of the Moldavian Hungarians," introduced by an editorial note by Victor Nita/

/Text/ Some time ago we were visitied at our office by a man who brought us two typewritten volumes, each about 250 pages long. His name was Dumitru Martinas and he was a retired professor, and the two volumes consisted of a linguistic work written over an entire lifetime. In this work the professor wished to express his view of the origin of the Hungarians of Central Moldavia. What motivated him to scrutinize, in time and space, this lacuna in liguistics? Nothing but his desire to find the parents of a people about whom nothing could be previously determined with any certainty, although a good many efforts were made throughout history. And at the heart of this keen desire lay the impelling fact that he, Prof Martinas himself, was the son and descendant of an old Moldavian Hungarian family.

But Prof Martinas died before we began to read the two volumes and before we found the time to interview him fully. We had to learn from our contributor Ion Coja, university lecturer in the Faculty of Romanian Language and Literature, to whom we lent the work for study and analysis, that in all likelihood the late Prof Martinas' linguistic research and procedure would ultimately throw some clearer light upon the origin of the Moldavian Hungarians.

It was also Lecturer Ion Coja who suggested that we publish an article by Constantin Beloiu, a dear friend and close collaborator of Prof Martinas, before we present a summary of the two volumes. We accepted this suggestion as a starting point in our effort to show the courage of a man who set out to fill in this blank in our linguistics, namely the language of the Moldavian Hungarians.

A quite outstanding scholar, keen researcher, wholehearted patriot and accomplished teacher, Prof Dumitru Martinas dedicated his whole life to a point of self-sacrifice to a problem long considered an enigma of science, namely the ethic-historical origin of the Moldavian Hungarians, and thus filled in a blank page in the troubled history of the Romanian people. In nearly 50 years of field studies and analyses in more than 70 Hungarian villages and upon consulting over 170 papers, books, journals, studies and documents, Prof Dumitru Martinas succeeded in demonstrating that the

Moldavian Hungarians properly speaking, that is those who inhabit the Middle Siret basin, are an old Transylvanian Romanian population in origin who were once Szeklerized, became bilingual, and later emigrated to Moldavia in the course of the huge social-political phenomenon known in Transylvania as the profugium valachorum, the flight of the Romanians, in the 18th century.

And so Prof Dumitru Martinas with his profound knowledge of the problem of the Moldavian Hungarians, in addition to his birth (11 May 1897 in Miclauseni-Butea Commune in Neamt County) of peasant parents with ancient ancestors who were all Moldavian Hungarians, prepared a documented study of more than 350 typed pages on the origin of the Moldavian Hungarians.

Displaying a thirst for knowledge and a keen aptitude for learning from his very young boyhood, working hard and living in his lessons and preparations, he passed his higher school courses and then graduated from Iasi University, studying the Romanian language and literature, the Latin language, and philosophy. He lived through the horrors of World War I with all its disasters, fighting on the front. In the first years after completing his university studies he taught in various Romanian cities and then settled in Tirgu-Mures, where he founded his home and family and taught Romanian, Latin and philosophy in several high schools. His longest and most fruitful years (38) were spent at the Papiu Ilarian High School, where he functioned as a professor and for a time as director, being an accomplished teacher. During his teaching career he knew how to approach the pupils' minds and hearts and how to win their sympathy, affection and respect to such an extent that after 1962, when he retired on a pension, there was no 10th, 20th, 25th or 30th high-school class anniversary that he was not invited to attend, because the presence of this scholar was considered an honor and the figure of this distinguished teacher was indelible in the pupils' memories after decades of separation.

Prof Dumitru Martinas' curiosity was already aroused during his university studies by the problem of the Csangos (Hungarian Moldavians), whom he investigated and studied enthusiastically throughout his entire lifetime, devoting part of his intellectual life to that problem, collecting material, roaming through villages, listening to the dialect, talking with the oldest Csangos and correlating the material, although many of his colleagues considered this a "dead" problem. This scholar and researcher of rare modesty, less interested in material problems than intellectual ones, devoted all his moments of leisure to study, reading and meditation until the end of his life on 3 February 1979.

As a posthumous tribute of admiration, profound respect and high esteem for Prof Dumitru Martinas, I feel it a duty of honor to present some original aspects of the Csango phenomenon culled from the work of this scholar and learned researcher.

The question arises at the start, who are these Csangos? The author says that in the opinion of the Hungarian teachers Bernath Munkacsi in 1880 and Aladar Ballagi in 1888, the origin of the name "Csangos" is as follows:

a. Csangai: to interbreed, in the biological sense;

b. Csango beszed: speech that is interbred in the liguistic sense;

c. Csangomaghiar: an interbred Hungarian who speaks an interbred language.

Prof Dumitru Martinas found that the old Hungarian settlements in Moldavia between the 13th and 16th centuries were not colonies of Csangos but colonies of Magyar-Szeklers. The number of these Hungarian Catholics in Moldavia had declined almost to the point of their disappearance, either because of mixture with the Moldavians ("Ad valahos defecere," Bandinus wrote in 1646) or rather because of the terrible ravages of war (deportations, famines, epidemics) the country had suffered during the prolonged Turco-Polish wars for the city of Camenita and their consequences, which reduced the whole country's population by half. As for the fate of those Hungarian Catholics, the Italian missionaries' correspondence repeated notes "Tutti fuggiti," all fled to Transylvania.

The author goes on to say that none of the many documents of the period (13th-16th centuries) mentions the name Csangos because the Csangos had not yet appeared by that time in Moldavia with their broken Hungarian dialect. The Csangos properly speaking were a later product of the process of Szelerization of the Romanian villages in Transylvania, a process that was made official by the Szeklerization of the Romanian principalities of Bretcu and Vlahita as of 1495. Originally those Csangos were a Romanian population made bilingual by Szeklerization who spoke broken Szekler in a ridiculous fashion ("Ridicole et insulse," Samuel Timon wrote in 1733), but they also spoke Romanian and dressed only as Romanians, as the Hungarian missionary Zold said in 1766 (The missionary Zold was a native of Madefalau community, today Siculeni in Harghita County, which was then inhabited by Szeklers and Szeklerised Romanians or Csangos).

In the 18th century many Csango serfs of the Szekler country, overcome by poverty and the harsh oppression of the feudal lords, fled from the Hungarian counts' estates and settled in Moldavia. Because of this fact alone the Csangos escaped total Szeklerization and succeeded in preserving their old sibilant Romanian dialect and their Romanian dress and customs, in other words their national existence.

To illustrate this phenomenon more graphically, the author sums up the following conclusions:

"The present Csango population is a new stratification of a Catholic population from Transylvania ("E Transylvania egredientes") that colonized Moldavia, largely in the 18th century."

"This new population of Transylvanian immigrants included two religious categories: (a) Catholic Csangos from the Szekler country, largely Szeklerized Romanian bilinguals speaking both Romanian and Hungarian as the missionary Zold said, and (b) many Romanian Greek-Catholic Uniates belonging to the Bishopric of Blaj, as the Italian missionaries attested." "This new population of Catholic inhabitants, commonly called Hungarian Catholics, was not a Magyar population because the usual, familiar mother dialect of the great majority of them was the Transylvanian Romanian dialect (The Italian missionary De Giovanni wrote, 'Tutti parlano in lingua moldava') and they all wore Romanian dress ('Ihre Kleidung ist Walachisch,' Zold wrote). It is well known that the Greek-Catholic Uniates were all Romanians. This Catholic population's settlement in Moldavia is attested by many historical witnesses, such as Iezerski, bishop of Bacau, the missionaries Carbioli, Mauro and De Giovanni et al. Although the Moldavians called them Hungarians because of their religion, they understood each other's Romanian dialects. After these Catholics settled in Moldavia, they all abandoned the Hungarian dialect and continued to speak Romanian, not in the

Moldavian dialect because they had not yet acquired it, but in their dialect, which they still speak today. They abandoned their old servitude and lived by their traditional Romanian standards of language, dress and customs.

"Conclusion: The present Csangos in Moldavia were originally a Transylvanian Romanian population that emigrated to Moldavia in the 18th century, distinct from the old Magyar-Szekler colonies of the 13th-16th centuries ethnically and linguistically."

In support of this statement the author demonstrates the Transylvanian basis of the Csango dialect of Romanian as follows:

The following three phonetic traits characteristic of the Csango dialect distinguish it from other regional dialects:

1. The sibilant pronunciation of ş as s is an old trait, a remnant of the late pronunciation in primitive Romanian, when our language was merely a stage of the eastern Romanic idiom. In other words the trait is inherited from popular Latin, and it also occurs in the western Romanic dialects.

2. Palatization of the dentals t and d (+ e and i), which became ci and gi, is a characteristic Transylvanian Banat pronunciation of Western Slavic origin that entered our language in the period of Romanian-Slavic symbiosis (8th-10th centuries).

3. Preservation of the old palatalized l', which did not change to i. This palatalized l' appeared in primitive Romanian and disappeared about in the 16th century, when it changed to i. It has been noted that this trait persists sporadically even today in the dialect of some Csango villages, four centuries after it disappeared in Daco-Romanian.

I quote the author's conclusion about these phonetic traits of the Csango dialect:

"The Csango dialect, which preserves phonetic traits from primitive Romanian and the period of Romanian-Slavic symbiosis, proves that the Transylvanian ancestors of the Csangos spoke Romanian in a period long before the 8th century. The presence of the Csangos' Transylvanian ancestors in Transylvania back in the period of Romanian-Slavic symbiosis and in the period of primitive Romanian demonstrates the presence and historical continuity of the Romanians in the Carpathian area back in the period of the origin of the Romanian language."

The author also analyzes the vocabulary of the Csango dialect and reaches the following conclusions:

1. All the religious terminology of a popular, folk nature in the Csango dialect is identical with that of the Transylvanian popular dialects.

2. The linguistic isolation of some Transylvanian Csango villages in the valleys of the eastern Carpathians for centuries on end made it possible to preserve some archaisms of Latin origin in their dialect that are unknown in common Romanian or have disappeared from it. For example: (a) The common noun ler, lerul, lerule meaning "brother-in-law" is unknown today in common Romanian but used in the Csango dialect. (b) The common noun vintricel meaning "belly", used more in children's speech, is a diminutive of the Transylvanian term vintre, from Latin venter, ventris, "belly." (c) Or the terms pacurar from Latin pecorarius and corinda or a corinda (with r). The latter is inherited directly from Latin kalenda and is identical in meaning with the term colinda (with l) in common Romanian.

By scientific, complete and in-depth analysis of all the problems under discussion, the author finally demonstrates that "The Csangos are a Transylvanian Romanian population that once underwent a process of Szeklerisation in the Szekler country that was sometimes more profound and sometimes more superficial. Their Romanian ethnic characteristics (language, dress, customs etc.) are not due to any presupposed denationalization or recent Romanianisation. They are the reflection of their ethnic and historical Transylvanian Romanian affiliation. Settled in Moldavia in a not very remote period, most of them have forgotten the Hungarian language, but they could not forget their old, regional, sibilant Romanian dialect brought from Transylvania, nor have they forgotten their old Transylvanian dress and customs." Quite rightly Dumitru Martinas concludes his valuable study by quoting Cantemir: "The language is an incontrovertible witness of this."

5186
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BRIEFS

AMBASSADORIAL APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Valeriu Pop is relieved of his position as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Uruguay and Comrade Gheorghe Apostol is accredited as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Uruguay, with residence in Buenos Aires. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 58, 15 Aug 81 p 2]

CSO: 2700/369

WESTERN COMMENT ON YUGOSLAVS, ALBANIANS IN BRUSSELS

Brussels LE SOIR in French 19 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Jean-Paul Collette: "In Belgium, Yugoslavs and Albanians Are Living in Distrust, With Nostalgia"]

> [Text] A bomb at the office of the JAT [Yugoslav Air Transport] airline company, two cases of arson, in May and in August, at the Tourism Office, gunfire at the embassy on 14 July, the murder of the Serbian hotel keeper Boskovic, shots fired by Musa Hoti at two members of the embassy; in Belgium, violent news is primarily Yugoslav.
>
> These attacks, for which responsibility is sometimes claimed and which often go unpunished, are expressions of the stealthy war waged by the thousand and one factions on the Yugoslav chessboard both among themselves and against the current regime. Brussels seems like a maquis, where people go underground, where they infiltrate, where they liquidate.

A picture of the Yugoslav community in Brussels in this context? In theory, the idea is promising. In the field, it turns out to be a formidable challenge, a virtually impossible quest.

Because a Yugoslav community as such, in the image of the Turkish or Spanish communities, does not exist. Because nearly half of these Yugoslavs do not recognize themselves under that label. They are Serbs, Croatians, Albanians from Kosovo. Nationalists, royalists, irredentists or cominformists. The others, those who do not reject the Yugoslav nationality, make themselves inconspicuous.

Fear of the other clans, infiltrations, provocations: in Brussels, the Slavs and the Illyrians from the Balkans (let us be cautious) are not very active. On the surface...

Depending on the sources and the years, the number of individuals of Yugoslav nationality in Belgium is estimated at 10,000 to 12,000 (5,235 in 1970). The Albanian exiles themselves estimate their number at about 10,000, of which approximately 4,000 are natives of the autonomous province of Kosovo. But whether they are from Kosovo or not, they are registered as Yugoslavs: first headache! A balanced addition would lead one to conclude the presence of approximately 20,000 Southern Slavs and Albanians, who should obviously not be mistaken for one another.

For any other community -- the Italians, for example -- the directories and official indexes are teeming with cultural, sports and social associations.

One would expect to find within the Brussels urban area (headed by the municipality of Schaerbeek), where the majority of the Yugoslavs and Albanians are living, several dozen basketball or soccer clubs with suggestive names: Red Star, Beograd, Hadjuk, Zagreb ... Not at all: you can hardly find a single Partizan or a Dinamo within the 19 municipalities!

In Exile

However, there is a field in which Yugoslavs of all kinds run a prosperous business and even advertise their differences: the restaurant business. The Brussels agglomeration is rich in establishments where the excellent Balkan cuisine triumphs. Their names express well the complexity of that milieu: next to grographic references (Split, Beograd, Dubrovnik, Neretva, Plitvice, Skopje ...) and picturesque ones (Bosnia Mill), the signs reveal surprising nuances: At the King of Serbia, Serbia, and Old Serbia! References to the nation of today, such as the Yugo-Grill, are extremely rare.

A good number of these restaurant owners consider themselves to be or are representative. Once the ovens have been turned off, and with the help of the burning slivovitz, the dining rooms and kitchens become discussion centers for touching nostalgia and burning and exacerbated political passions. But very different ones, depending on the tendency! The sole common denominators in these small Balkan islands are called "cevapcici, djuvec, musaka, zilavka," for our greater pleasure ...

Alexander's Scepter

Before attempting to define the movements represented in Belgium, it is important to recall the major elements of the Yugoslav political puzzle. It is not enough to list the six republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro) and the two autonomous provinces (Kosovo-Metohija and Vojvodina), which form the current state of Yugoslavia, moulded in Titoism. The aspirations and resentments go back much further, for the most part to the Austrian and Ottoman rule.

First of all, nationalist resentments and aspirations, primarily among the Serbs, the Croatians, the Montenegrins and the Albanians.

The Serbs are nostalgic about regimes in which they played the primary role: supporters of the kingdom of Serbia, which in 1918 became the kingdom of the Serbo-Croatians and the Slovenes, are still numerous. Alexander, prince of Yugoslavia, born in 1945, son of King Peter II and grandson of Alexander I, who was assassinated in Marseilles in 1934, has tens of thousands of faithful subjects.

Most of the Serbian royalists also venerate the memory of General Draga Mihajlovic, the chief of the renowned chetniks, who was executed in 1946 by the Tito government. The chetniks had organized a resistance to the Germans in the hope of restoring the monarchy. The struggle between the two resistance networks was merciless.

It would be hard to be more fiercely nationalist than the Croatians. Whether they are orthodox communists (cominformists, favorable to Moscow), Tito communists, social democrats or fascists (the sadly well known Ustachi), all of them want an independent government in Zagreb, "free" of the tutelage of that detested Belgrade! During the years 1971-1972, the leaders of the Croatian Communist League, who had indicated their opposition to centralism, experienced serious difficulties: there were trials and firings.

Abroad, we sometimes have a tendency to mix up the Croatian exiles with the Ustachi. This is a dangerous mistake! All Croatians are not nostalgic for the free Croatian state, established in 1941 with Hitler's blessing, and led by the cruel Ante Pavelic. The terrorist acts committed in Europe by the Ustachi only succeeded in tarnishing the Croatian cause, much to the detriment of the democrats!

Let us also note that a few thousand Montenegrins in exile are hoping for the return to Cetinje (not to Titograd) of the monarchy represented today by Prince Michael Petrovitch Niegosh, grandson of the legendary Nicholas I.

Illyrian Imbroglio

The Albanian problem is altogether different still. The large majority of the Albanians from Yugoslav Kosovo, like those who are natives of the current Albanian territory, hope for the resurrection of "ethnic" Albania, which would bring together the Illyrians from Albania, from Kosovo and from Macedonia. Aside from this option, they tear each other apart over what regime would be installed in this new state.

The supporters of the monarchy want the descendant of King Zog or Zogu, who reigned from 1928 to 1939, to settle in Tirana. Aside from these, the whole political range is represented: socialist republicans, orthodox communists, social democrats, "irredentists" ... Depending on the groups, some exiled Albanians from Kosovo also desire autonomy for their region or the establishment of a seventh Yugoslav republic!

Some Serbs, Few Croatians

Phew... This quick overview -- which will certainly be contested and labeled simplistic -- allows us to place (more or less) the main movements represented in Brussels. The most numerous and the most active seem to be the royalist Serbs, such as, for example, Pierre Valic, one of their leaders who was killed in 1975, and the Boskovic brothers, both of whom were assassinated in Brussels at 5 year intervals. Miodrag, the antique dealer, was secretary of the Association of Serbian Workers in the Free World. He was also a member of "The Revived Serbia."

The Belgian capital could be considered one of the most important strongholds of the Serbian diaspora. There are also a few dozen communists favorable to the USSR, cominformists (they reject the 1948 break between Belgrade and Moscow), and often Stalinists.

On the other hand -- and the strong Serbian presence may well explain this -- the Croatians are much less numerous and more discreet. There are very few Ustachi in our country, unlike the FRG, Great Britain, the United States and Australia, where the fascists have deeply penetrated the Croatian communities. The main openly

represented movement in Belgium is the HDP, the Movement for Croatian Liberation, which is anticommunist and claims to be legalistic.

There is a small number of Montenegrins, who stay well away from the news spotlight.

The 10,000 Albanians in Belgium, on the contrary, have established with publicity a surprising range of political, cultural and "combatant" associations, which issue many communiques and position statements. Anti-Serbian, anti-Tirana, in favor of Kosovo, anti-Tito, royalist, republican ... Certain groups do not hesitate to take violent action, and several of the attacks committed against Yugoslav interests have been claimed by them (the arson at the Tourism Office).

Secret Struggles?

All of them agree on one point: for the most excited of these Balkan exiles and for mysterious secret agents, Belgium has become the field of a stealthy, often armed, battle ... In 1975, a "secret Serbian national organization" assassinated the leader of a chetnik group in Ixelles, Mr Blagojevic, a former companion of Mihajlovic.

Opponents of the Belgrade regime would add: a field of action for the Yugoslav state also. In those circles, the Tito regime is often accused of regularly sending agents (of the SDB, the criminal bureau, the KOS, the counter-espionage service, and the SIDI, the information service), whose task it is to infiltrate and to eliminate opponents. They also accuse the embassy of using the official cultural clubs, located in Brussels and in Antwerp, to the same end (the club in Namur and a second Brussels club had to close their doors).

As far as the official representatives of Belgrade are concerned, the sole aim of these clubs is to inform Yugoslavs about what is going on in their country, an effort at continuous education, activation through folklore ... And the Yugoslav state denies using illegal means to eliminate its opponents abroad as well as within its own borders. On the contrary, it would like Belgium to take measures against those exiles too eager to play with Molotov cocktails or guns.

The communities of expatriates and exiles produce a great deal of worry in Belgrade. Those in Belgium cause it to loose patience ...

Distrust and Hate

"In any case," commented a Serbian refugee, "as soon as an agent from the secret services or from the political police lands in Belgium and tries to penetrate a circle of opponents, we spot him and, sometimes, we eliminate him. We are organized and armed. And we distrust everybody."

This is probably the key word to apply to those Yugoslav communities in Belgium: distrust. The most politicized among these Serbs, these Albanians, and these Croatians live in the fear of being provoked, infiltrated, put out of commission to fight for their cause. Secular differences, if not hatreds, ideological conflicts, exacerbated passions -- as they can be in the Balkans -- set them against each other. "True," an Albanian from Kosovo told us, "we are fighting the Titoists. But first of all, we hate the Serbs."

Those who are not politicized try to be as inconspicuous as possible. And yet they are the most numerous. They came here to work; they are courageous and sound. Most of them regularly return to Yugoslavia. They are not opponents, and that alone, in the eyes of the exiles, makes them suspect ...

Afraid of association, of making a mistake: it is neither easy not reassuring to declare oneself a Yugoslav in Brussels.

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WORK DISRUPTION AT TREPCA MINE DESCRIBED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1186, 28 Jul 81 pp 20-21

[Article written by Radivoj Kovacevic; photographs by Rade Negojevic]

[Text] Since they were not informed as to why their wages had been reduced, the miners refused to enter the mine shafts. This could easily have been avoided....

In the cool night below Kopaonik mountain, like some huge fireflies gleamed miners' lamps. By the movements you could tell that the lamps were being held by nervous hands. It was at the time when the third shift of miners at Stari Trg should already have been deep in the pit. That evening, the diggers had refused to enter the shafts. The scene was repeated the following day, on Saturday, July 11, and there was no change in the situation on Sunday morning.

"The Trepca miners are on strike!" "The nationalists cooked up the whole thing at Stari Trg." "There are many injured among the miners." The grapevine, like an avalanche, carried "the truth" about which the entire Yugoslav press kept silence. That is what the comrades in the LCY opstina committee at Kosovska Mitrovica decided. They did not order, but suggested that the refusal of the Stari Trg miners to enter the shafts on 10, 11 and 12 July was nothing serious, but was a purely "local matter" of this collective with 3,200 employees, among which 800 are LCY members.

Djina Sokolj, the deputy director for economic and general operations, tried to persuade us: "Comrade reporters, that is nothing. True, this is the first time anything like this has happened here, but remember, these are our internal matters. It is true that the miners refused to enter the pit because their pay envelopes for last month were thinner than previously, but after an explanation of why that was so, they went to work. What sort of strike! That was simple a little unpleasant episode. I would call it a misunderstanding."

As soon as it was learned that the miners of the third shift did not want to enter the mine with envelopes lacking the so-called incentive portion, for many amounting to half a million old dinars of child supplement plus yet another 16 percent, the very next day there were representatives of the sociopolitical organizations of Kosovoska Mitrovica and of the province at the entrance to the mine. After discussion with the miners, it emerged that the misunderstanding occurred because of lack of communication.

In recent months it has been very difficult for reporters in Kosovo province to obtain complete information. We found this to be true again at Stari Trg. Although we had arranged to talk with the mine director at this Trepca operation the previous day, it took several hours before we could speak with Sucrija Kelmendi for some ten minutes.

Vera, the secretary, explained that "in recent days the director is frequently in the mine, among the miners," thus giving the reason for his absence.

Sometime toward the end of the workday, Kelmendi appeared, and immediately let us know that it would be better to talk about the entire matter with "the comrades at the Kosovoska Mitrovica opstina committee." Nevertheless, he agreed to give us a 5-minute "interview, but with the condition that we also talk it all over with the miners as well.

Kelmendi told us: "None of this would have happened if the miners had been informed in time that they had worked poorly in June and that that would be reflected in their wages. The mine production plan was only met by 86 percent, for straight ore, and for so-called concentrate only 70 percent of the quota was produced. We worked poorly, and we distributed just what we earned. Therefore, wages were reduced by 16 percent. The shortage of funds in the federal child protection institute was also felt by our miners, for 300 of them did not receive the child support supplement."

They do not hide the fact that at Stari Trg June, July and August are poor production months. Most of the miners have one foot in the mine and the other in their fields. For years, absenteeism in June has increased sharply, because that is mowing time.

Many of the miners plainly told us: "How can we help but sacrifice 2 or 3 days of work in the mines so that we can cut the hay in the village. A day of mowing earns one 2,000 dinars, while a day's earnings in the mine is significantly less."

It is a striking fact that while in June, 46 percent of the miners were absent, even the half of the labor force that was on the job could not have worked better.

Aslan Foci, who has already worked for more than 2 decades at Stari Trg, told us: "We old miners did not work poorly. We old, dependable workers suffer because of these newcomers and loafers. They don't know how to do the job, and they don't work very hard either."

Later, in a conversation with the miners, we found out that through an error by an accountant, some 200 of them had lost a thousand dinars of incentive pay, which is paid to them for regular job attendance, to those who do not take sick leave on the fields, or come late to work. That hurt many of them. Despite the fact that the income of the Stari Trg miners is the highest in the Trepca complex, averaging more than 10,000 dinars, nonetheless the loss of even a single dinar hurt these people severely.

We were assured by Predrag Milosavljevic, secretary of the Stari Trg LCY action conference, that "none of this would have happened if the miners had been informed of the real reasons for their thinner pay envelopes. The bitter cup overflowed with the news that the province and opstina had recommended that directors use only 15-20 days of their annual vacation, while workers at the more difficult jobs should use their annual vacation. The supervisors and shift foremen did a poor job of transmitting this decision to the miners: they said that the miners as well should use only 15-20 days of vacation time. The miners took this to mean that their annual vacation time was being reduced. Somehow, all of these things accumulated just at the time when the reduced wages were being paid.

From conversations with miners whom no one from the mine administration selected for us, and with representatives of the workers' council and the LCY organization, we became convinced that the July protest of the Trepca miners could not in any way be regarded as a strike or a work stoppage. It is true that on Friday the third shift workers, on Saturday the first and second shift, and on Sunday the first shift miners refused to go to work until it was explained to them why there was less money in their pay envelopes. Then the majority went to the mine shafts.

Mine technician Danilo Jaksic, who has been working at Stari Trg for 13 years, told us that only the non-workers refused to go to work. He continued; "Despite the fact that they were told that the accounting error and the shortage in incentive pay and child supplement would be corrected and paid with their July wages, a group of workers did not want to go down into the mine. Nevertheless, most of us went to work after an hour or two of waiting in front of the mine entrance."

Many miners whose child supplement had been deleted (and many receive as much as 5,000 dinars and more) have had to live on excuses and promises this month, in the hopes of receiving that money at the beginning of August. Could that error have been corrected so that they could have been paid that money from current funds these days? We could not get an answer to that question at Stari Trg.

Aslan Foci told us: "Well, when I came to work that Friday, I received an envelope and I saw that I was short fully half a million (old) dinars. I saw that people were not going into the mine, and so I didn't want to go either. My comrades told me that they did not want to work until they got an explanation as to why they had received so little pay. Afterwards, when they had explained it to us, we got together and went into the shaft."

We heard the same story from 30-year old Rahim Smolja, who has been working in the mine for 7 years. Smolja said, "when they explained why we had earned less, no one protested any more."

Nevertheless, it is interesting that the mine directors regard 38 of the miners, including 5 communists, to be alarmists and troublemakers. The disciplinary commission will determine the magnitude of their contribution in persuading the miners not to go to work, because the misunderstandings that arose could have been resolved in a peaceful manner, by honest, open discussion.

The attempt to connect the three-day events at the Stari Trg mines to actions by nationalists obviously is fruitless, for everyone says that the only fault was the lack of communication with the workers.

As Predrag Milisavljevic stressed: "We must keep in mind that, from our mine, only 3 workers participated in the demonstrations, and that every fourth employee is a member of the League of Communists, so that therefore, we are such a mighty fortress of unity that nationalism would have a hard time entering. In general, the miners here are not only Albanians. Every labor brigade has a number of Serbs, Turks, and Romanians, and there are also Croats and Slovenes, as well as workers from Bosnia. All of this points up the fact that nationalists would not be able to become entrenched here among us."

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ISLAMIC PAPER OBJECTS TO CRITICISM OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

[Editorial Report] The 15 August 1981 issue of PREPOROD (Sarajevo publication of the Community of Islamic Elders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia) publishes a full-page refutation of an article in VECERNJE NOVOSTI (Belgrade) of 3 August 1981 written under the title "Priests Are Burdening Children." The PREPOROD editorial, "Who Is Disturbed by Religious Freedom and Why?", says this article is an example of newspaper writing aimed at spreading "disinformation, untruth, and false interpretations to create an unfavorable response in society. All these examples show how much professional ethics, seriousness, and responsibility are lacking in certain editorial boards." Such articles, it says, describe religious activities which are fully guaranteed by the constitution as allegedly impermissible and against the law. Moreover, it notes that the author "takes the liberty...of linking wild behavior of a nationalist and irredentist nature and various other forms of enemy activity to...Islamic religious instruction, and [the author] concludes that manifestations of nationalist fervor have served as a platform to strengthen religious instruction. Such assertions are a gross and loathsome deception and offense imposed not only on hodjas [priests] who are honorably, responsibly, and with full right, carrying out their tasks and obligations, but also on the honor, dignity, and patriotic feelings of citizens of the Islamic faith, because VECERNJE NOVOSTI equates them with Albanian nationalists and irredentists."

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BRIEFS

PRIEST SENTENCED--The Citluk (Hercegovina) Opstina magistrates court sentenced Father Ferdo Vlasic, priest from Duvno, to 60 days in prison for violating Article 2, Point 5 of the Law on Public Peace and Order; Vlasic is editor of the religious paper NASA OGNJISTA published in Duvno. The charge which was clearly proved against him at the trial said that Vlasic on 12 August 1981 opposed police officers in carrying out their duty, by threatening to run them over with his car if they did not get off the road and denigrating them before a group of citizens, saying that the police meant nothing to him. Because several days after the penalty was handed down he again behaved in a similar way, the opstina magistrates court in Citluk, on the basis of Article 310 of the Law on Legal Infractions of Bosnia-Hercegovina, directed Father Vlasic to serve his sentence immediately. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 81 p 12]

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